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REFORM WITHIN ISLAM

THE *TAJDID* AND *JADID* MOVEMENT AMONG THE KAZAN TATARS (1809-1917) CONCILIATION OR CONFLICT?

AHMET KANLIDERE

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Preface

While Tatar reformism has attracted many scholars, its religious aspect has been neglected. A misleading portrait of the Tatar reformers is conveyed, by either underestimating their impact or overlooking their religious concerns. This study, therefore, is primarily concerned with the revivalist aspect of the Tatar renaissance and the effectiveness of the reformist Tatar 'ulamâ' in the transitional period of Tatar society.

I wish to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Professor Edward A. Allworth and Professor Kathleen R. F. Burrill for their extremely valuable criticism, advice, and encouragement. I am also grateful to Professors Pierre Cachia, Richard W. Bulliet, Peter S. Cowe, and Mark L. Von Hagen. Their observations clarified issues and broadened my field of vision. I especially want to thank Pardis Minuchehr, who helped me a great deal with her critical questions and discussions, as well as Arye Barkai, Caroline Sawyer, Recep Şentürk, and Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh for their comments. In addition, for their special courtesy in offering valuable pictures and visual sources important for this work, I want to thank in particular Professor Nâdir Devlet and Dr. Nesrin Sarıahmetoğlu.

This dissertation uses the following transliteration systems: 1. For Kazan Tatar in Arabic script, Professor Edward Allworth's *Nationalities of the Soviet East: Publications and Writing Systems* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971). 2. For the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, *The Chicago Manual of Style* system. 3. For Ottoman Turkish and Modern Turkish and Arabic, the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* system. In the English transliteration of Arabic letters, a simplified system is used without diacritics, except for ' for *'ayn* and ' for *hamzah*.

Chapter I

RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY

1. Czarist Policy toward the Kazan Tatars

Since the nineteenth century Islamic societies have been experiencing problems in reconciling modernization with tradition. One of these modernizing efforts, the nineteenth-century Tatar reform movement, has its parallels elsewhere in the modern history of the Muslim world, but it has distinctive features that make it worthy of a separate study. As a result of their exposure to the West, domination by Russia, and awareness of the reformist ferment that swept through the nineteenth-century Islamic world, the Kazan Tatar reform movement acquired a distinct nature affected by various influences.

The very special location of the Tatars and their long interaction with a Christian power, Russia, gave a distinct characteristic to the Tatar Islamic reform movement. Therefore, this research should begin with a survey of the historical and social background from which Tatar reformism drew its sustenance.

The origin of the Kazan Tatars goes back to the Turkic-speaking Bulghars who appeared in the Volga region in the seventh century A.D. These Bulghars formed a state in the ninth century, converted to Islam in 922 and saw their state devastated by the Mongols during the early 1200s. The local people, however, Turkicized the conquering Mongols who established the empire of the Golden Horde. Moreover, the Bulghars, uniting with the Qipchaqs, who came to the region from Central Asia in the thirteenth century, moved further north and west in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and Turkicized Finnish tribes in the region. The Golden Horde itself broke up into the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimea, Siberia, and the Noghay Horde.

The first contact of the Tatars with Russians occurred during the time of the Volga Bulghars, who were mostly settled and engaged with trade and agriculture. A scholar characterized this relationship as basically peaceful.[1] This neighborly relationship continued but in time turned into an ideological struggle between Christian Russians and Muslim Tatars during the period of that

[1] Andreas Kappeler, "Czarist Policy toward the Muslims of the Russian Empire," in *Muslim Communities Reemerge: Historical Perspectives on Nationality, Politics, and Opposition in the Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia,* ed. Edward Allworth, translated from the German and French by Caroline Sawyer (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 142.

Khanate. The Russians conquered the Kazan Khanate in 1552, and thereafter, the Tatars lost their independence.

Czarist policies toward the Kazan Tatars up to the reign of Catherine II (1762-1796) show a repressive pattern. The Russian conquest, which took place during the reign of Ivan IV, the Terrible (1533-1584), saw the beginning of a constant ideological struggle between the Russian conquerors and their Tatar subjects. In 1555, the Russians established a bishopship in Kazan to convert the Kazan Tatars and other non-Christians. Force was used, and several thousand Tatars and the old Tatar aristocracy converted to Christianity. Ever since then, these baptized Tatars have been called Christian Tatars (*Kreshen* Tatars). However, in general the conversion policy remained rather ineffective during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[1] and led to the Tatars' adopting a pattern of passive resistance and a more strict attachment to Islam.

This ideological struggle created a constant tension between the Russian orthodox missionaries and the Tatar religious leadership ('ulamâ'), who played an important role in counteracting the missionary activities both by preaching and by fostering educational programs in mosques.[2]

The conversion policy continued throughout the reigns of three rulers, Peter the Great (1682-1725), the Empress Anne (1730-1740) and Empress Elizabeth (1741-1761).[3] Peter the Great exempted converts from military duties and taxes for a time, but this measure failed to promote any significant degree of conversion among the Tatars.[4] In 1740 an imperial edict exempted the new converts from tax while doubling the taxes of those subjects who insisted on remaining faithful to their religion, Islam. Another imperial edict of 1742 ordered the destruction of newly built mosques in the Kazan *gubernia* (province), resulting in the destruction of 418 mosques in the two years following the edict, and banned the building of new mosques.[5]

Early repression pushed the Tatars into a rigid conservative position, and the historical enmity between the Russians and the Tatars sensitized the Tatars against Russian culture and turned them eastward to their Muslim brothers in Central Asia.

The late eighteenth century proved to be a turning point in the Tatar-Russian relationship, and the Russian government became lenient toward the Kazan Tatars. In 1789, as a consequence of this new policy, Catherine II allowed the Tatars to establish a Muslim religious administration for east European and

[1] Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri* (Istanbul: Âmedî Matbaası, 1925), 75, 79.
[2] Ibid., 80.
[3] Abdullah Battal Seyidoğlu [Battal-Taymas], "Kazan Türkleri," *Türk Yılı 1928*, ed. Yusuf Akçuraoğlu (Istanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928), 622.
[4] Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 110-15.
[5] Ibid., 109.

western Siberian Muslims. This was the beginning of minimum internal autonomy for the Tatars. A Religious Administration (*Mahkämä-i Shar'iyä-i Orenburgiyä* or *Orenburgskoe Dukhovnoe Sobranie*) was established,[1] composed of a mufti (their religious leader appointed by the Russian czar and seated in Orenburg) and three judges (*qadi*). Its duty was to deal with marriage, divorce, inheritance, administration of religious schools, and training and appointment of Muslim clerics. This Religious Administration was later moved to the city of Ufa. Among the rules introduced at the time of the first mufti, Muhammadjan, was that appointment by certificate (*mänshur* or *ukaze*) to be an *imam*, *khatîb*, or *mudarris* was through the *Sobranie*, which had not been the case previously.[2]

There is an interesting claim that the protection of the Muslims of Russia was one of the conditions of the 1774 Küchük Kaynarja agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Russia.[3] However, it is difficult to find support for this claim in other sources, except other jadidist writings of Fatih Sayfi Kazanli and Âlimjan Sharaf.[4] The Küchük Kaynarja text itself mentions the Ottoman caliph's being the religious leader of the Tatars,[5] but these were Crimean Tatars, not Kazan Tatars.

Since its establishment, the Religious Administration and its officially paid *mullah*s had taught their Muslim flock the necessity of submission to the czar and his authorities. While quoting from the Qur'an and hadith they always preached the necessity of submission to the czar. Among the duties of the Muslim clergy (*ruhanîler*) was to pray for the health of the czar, his wife and children on the days of religious festivals. They presented themselves as submissive and obedient subjects of the czar, whom they called the "White King" (*Aq Padshah*). The Russian government, for its part, considered the Tatars to be the most loyal subjects of the Empire.

In addition to religious autonomy, in 1792 Russia granted the Tatars extensive commercial privileges, and the Tatars acted as intermediaries in trade

[1] Tamurbek Davletshin, *Sovetskii Tatarstan* (London: Our Word Publishers, 1974), 24.
[2] Shihâb al-Din b. Bahâ al-Din al-Marjanî, *Al-Qısm al-awwal min Kitâb Mustafâd al-Akhbâr fi Ahwâl Qazan wa Bulghar* (Kazan: Dävlät Matba'asï, 1885), 313. (Hereafter cited as Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*).
[3] "Ähl-i Islamnï ghayrïnïng istirqaqdan mämnû'iyyäti Küchük Kaynarja musâlahasï shurûtundandïr." Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 285.
[4] "Bu dinî müässäsä 1774'nchi yïlda Türkiyä bilän Rusiyä arasïnda bulghan Küchük Qaynarja sulhu boyunja tüzülürgä tiyüsh bolghan." Fatih Sayfi Kazanlï and 'Âlimjan Shäraf, *Tatar Ili*, 42.
[5] "As to the ceremonies of religion, as the Tatars profess the same faith as the Mahometans, they shall regulate themselves, with respect to His Highness, in his capacity of Grand Caliph of Mahometanism, ..." in J. C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 94.

between Russia and her Asian neighbors. Thanks to relatively favorable political and economic conditions, the Tatar townsmen attained economic prosperity.

During the reign of Catherine II, Kazan Tatar youth began to travel into Central Asia in order to attend Muslim schools, and although these adhered to a pedantic type of education, they helped Tatars to prepare learned individuals for the society.[1]

Christian missionary activities increased in the nineteenth century. In 1818, Christians founded a Bible society in Kazan.[2] Three years earlier, in 1815, missionaries had established a Scottish Bible Association in Astrakhan, and these Russian and British Bible Associations began to translate Christian literature into local languages. The Muslim leadership understood the purpose of these activities and soon initiated countermeasures. The books that were published as a result had a great impact on Muslim intellectual life and even spread to the Christianized Tatars.[3] This led to a re-conversion of *Kreshen* Tatars back to Islam starting with the nineteenth century, first in Nijni-Novgorod, then Kazan.

Perhaps, also, because of the new rights Tatars gained during the reign of Catherine II, Islam began spreading among the Christianized Tatars and the small neighboring groups of non-Russian Turkic and Finnic peoples, Chuvash, Mordvas and Votyaks, in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Russian authorities viewed this situation as an alarming threat to the unity of Russia, and with Orthodox Christian missionaries, the government took measures to stop the further spread of Islamization and Tatarization. One measure was not to interfere with Tatar educational institutions, but rather to leave the Tatars in the darkness of the "medieval" period while doing whatever was necessary to spread modern education and Christianity among the other non-Russian peoples.[4]

Another measure involved an attempt to raise the level of education and religiosity among those who were nominally Christian. The leader in these new measures was Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii (1822-1891), who was especially effective through his educational activities.[5] Beginning his work around 1860, he put emphasis on the vernacular language in order to reach pagans and Muslims. Consequently, his activities included producing translations of the Gospels and the liturgy in the vernacular, and he created a staff of thoroughly trained and enthusiastic native teachers.

[1] Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 172.
[2] Ibid., 153-54.
[3] Ibid., 154.
[4] F. K., "Rusya'da Inarodis Mäktäbläri," *Shûrâ* 8 (1908): 237-38.
[5] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity IV: The Great Century (1800-1914)* (New York: Harper & Brothers Press, 1941), 121.

Il'minskii was aware of the futility of efforts to convert the Muslim Tatars to Christianity, for they were considered to be nearly inaccessible to evangelization. He was primarily concerned, therefore, with keeping the nominally Orthodox non-Russians within the Church, away from Islam's pervading influence. He held Catherine the Great responsible for the Muslims' growing influence, because it was she who had granted them the right to organize themselves under the Muslim Religious Administration, and he tried hard to nullify its activity. Thus he intervened in the appointment of the mufti in 1884 and sought the most ineffective person for the post. His aim was to restrain and deprive the Muslims culturally and politically in order to minimize their influence.[1]

Il'minskii also opposed the Muslim awakening or reform movement, feeling that a reformed Islam would be more difficult to deal with a Tatar educated in Russian and Islam. He wrote:

> The mass of the Tatar population is fanatic and looks hostile at Russian Orthodoxy, but at the same time crudely and unattractively; the rising Tatar intellectuals offers its malicious poison as a gilded pill, literarily and bejewelled, and puts for shortsighted and unfeeling intelligentsia into ecstasy. This is more dangerous than fanaticism...[2]

There was still another method in dealing with the Tatar question, quite different from that of Il'minskii: assimilation of the Tatars as well as other non-Russian subjects by imposing the Russian language on them. As a part of this new policy, in the 1870s the government began to require Muslim schools to include classes on Russian language. In the 1850s a new trend in Russia, the rise of Russian nationalism, had begun and this changed the relatively tolerant policy toward non-Russian subjects. The Crimean War (1853-56) motivated educated Russians to seek the assimilation of non-Russian subjects by teaching them the Russian language and converting them to Orthodox Christianity.[3]

The Russian invasion of Central Asia had a negative impact on the Tatars who were intermediaries between the Russian and Central Asian trade. After the conquest, Russians preferred a direct trade relationship with Central Asians. As a result, Tatar merchants gradually lost their intermediary status in trade between Russia and Central Asia. In order to survive, Tatar merchants had to direct themselves to new markets, especially to the Russian ones.

[1] Isabelle Teitz Kreindler, "Educational Policies toward the Eastern Nationalities in Tsarist Russia: a Study of Il'minskii's System," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969-1970, 105-106.
[2] Nikolai I. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma Nikolaia Ivanovicha Il'minskago k ober-prokuroru sviatieishago sinoda Kostantinu Petrovichu Pobiedonostsevu* (Kazan: Izdanie Redaktsii Pravoslavnago Sobesiednika, 1895), 63. "Sekretno."
[3] Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 204.

Another consequence of the Russian invasion was the establishment of the Trans-Caspian (1899) and the Orenburg-Tashkent (1906) railways.[1] The new railroad eliminated the old Tatar transit centers. Now, as a Crimean professor, Bekir Chobanzâde (1893-1938), noted, instead of going to Bukhara with caravans, Tatar merchants got on trains and went to Moscow and other Russian markets.[2]

Professor Chobanzâde claimed that it was this geographical shift that resulted in an ideological shift. He added that from that time on, "ideologues of the Tatar bourgeoisie," that is, *mullah*s, *damla*s and *ishan*s started to accuse Bukharan madrasahs of corruption and limitation in learning. "The noble Bukhara which was the only, good, true and holy center for centuries, fell out of favor and was forgotten in a few years."[3] Tatar youth changed their direction of education from Central Asian madrasahs to schools in Istanbul, Cairo and Russian cities.

Some observers have proposed that the Tatar reform movement emerged as a reaction to the czarist policy of religious and economic suppression combined with the provocation of the Russian Orthodox missionaries.[4] Without going so far as to agree with professor Bennigsen, scholars should accept the likelihood that Orthodox missionary activities in the nineteenth century deeply influenced and activated the Tatar 'ulamâ'. The Orthodox missionaries' criticism of Muslim social institutions like polygamy, unregulated divorce, and the status of women in general drew the interest of the reformist 'ulamâ', and concentrated their efforts on the improvement of these institutions. Moreover, the criticism of missionaries only made the Tatars' beliefs grow stronger and increased their enthusiasm. Alarmed by missionary work, Muslim Tatars became busily engaged in propagating Islam. Indeed, by some estimates the Muslim missionaries became more successful than the Christian missionaries.

Contact with the missionaries provided the reformers with both an increased sense of urgency for their reformist agenda and institutional models of organization. In a way, the missionaries set a paradigm for the reformers. For example, a Tatar reformist Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din (1855/58-1936) openly admired missionary activities, such as opening schools, orphanages, hospitals,

[1] Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 28.
[2] Bekir Chobanzâde, *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqïlâb* (Aq Masjid: Qïrïm Dävlät Näshriyâtï, 1927), 55.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Kreindler, 11, 204. Kreindler's claim is based on Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 13.

reading houses and libraries, and translating religious literature into other languages.[1]

Moreover, the inability of traditional 'ulamâ' to resist these missionary activities encouraged the reformers to take the responsibility into their own hands. Rizâ al-Din accused the traditionalist 'ulamâ' of occupying themselves with arguments over trifling issues.[2]

The establishment of a university in the ancient Tatar capital, Kazan (1804) was another event that would affect Tatar life profoundly in the long run. A contemporary scholar, who visited Kazan in 1842, described Kazan University as follows. "When the University was first founded, the professors were all Germans. In the year 1810 there were fourteen Germans and one Russian. In 1815 there were only eight German professors. At present there are very few: the majority being Russians, and some Poles."[3] The university had a strong department of Oriental studies.

Russian as well as Western Orientalist scholarship on the early centuries of Islam directed the reformers' interests toward certain areas of these subjects, such as the biography of the Prophet, the history of Islam, Islamic jurisprudence, and the preparation of indexes to the Qur'an. At the end of the eighteenth century, for example, scholars of Oriental studies published a number of works on classical Arabic literature and scholarship.[4] These scholarly activities attracted the jadidists' attention, helping to reinforce their condemnation of the traditionalist 'ulamâ' who confined themselves to medieval commentaries. Linguistic, and historical studies by scholars at Kazan University deeply influenced young Tatars and directed their interests to their own history.

Besides the Russian contact, Tatars had long maintained numerous relationships with Central Asians. Their religious ideology, philosophy and civilization was coming from Central Asia. Also, a Central Asian type of literature consisting of religious stories, epics, and stories with Sufi-dervish spirit was popular among Tatar audiences.[5] This form of literature was shared among the Turkic peoples of Turkistan, Kazan, Crimea and Azarbaijan as well as the Ottoman Turks.[6]

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âsar* 2 (Orenburg: Muhammad Fatih b. Ghïlman Karimof Matba'asï, 1905), 198.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Baron von Haxthausen, *The Russian Empire, its People, Institutions, and Resources* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1856), vol. 2, 320.
[4] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Abû al-'alâ' al-Ma'arrî* (Orenburg: Karimof, Hüsayinof vä Shüräkâsï Matba'asï, 1908), 61-62; Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âsar* 1 (Orenburg: Muhammad Fatih b. Ghïlman Karimof Matba'asï, 1904), 304.
[5] 'Abd al-Rahman Sa'adî, *Tatar Ädäbiyatï Tarikhi* (Kazan: Tatgosizdat, 1926), 12.
[6] Bekir Chobanzâde, *Son Dävir Qïrïm Tatar Ädäbiyatï Tänqid Täjrübäläri* (Aqmäsjit: Iläri Jurnali Idâräsi, 1928), 8-9.

While all these technical, commercial and educational changes were happening, Tatar society still kept its characteristics of traditional society. The religious class ('ulamâ') was the most influential societal power among the Tatars. They administered their religious and educational affairs and received salaries from the *Sobranie*, which was a government department under the Ministry of Inner Affairs.[1] The mufti, the chief religious leader, was the highest representative of the Muslim population and functioned as the chief mediator between the government and Muslims. He was responsible for bringing the religious and cultural needs of Muslims to the attention of Russian authorities and even to the czar.

Unlike other Muslim societies, the mufti and men of religion in Tatarstan were organized in a hierarchy resembling that of the Orthodox Christians. The 'ulamâ' class (*din 'âlimläri* or *rûhânîlär*) of Muslims in Russia at the turn of the twentieth century consisted of men holding the rank of mufti, *nâib*, *qadï*, *mudarris*, *akhund*, *khatib*, *mu'allim*, *imam* and *muazzin*. At the top of the hierarchy were the mufti, *nâib*, *qadi*, and the *mudarris* of a high-level *madrasah*. Under them were the middle clergy, namely the *khatib*, *akhund*, and the *mudarris* of madrasahs. At the bottom were the *mu'allim*, *imam* and *muazzin*.[2] Resembling the Russian Holy Synod the structure of the *Sobranie* was characterized by a sort of clerical hierarchy, not necessarily the same as in Christianity but closer to that as compared to other Muslim societies.

It was the madrasah, a Muslim higher educational institution, that the Tatar 'ulamâ' came from. In Tatarstan, it was mainly wealthy Tatars who constructed and sponsored the madrasahs, especially the bigger ones. However, sometimes the teacher (mudarris) himself might establish a madrasah (again with a help of the rich) as was the case with the Marjanî Madrasah (founder: Shihâb al-Din Marjanî) or Rasûlî Madrasah (founder: Shaykh Zayn Allah Rasûlî). The biggest of the Tatar madrasahs, The Husayniya Madrasah, got its name from its founding family of Husaynovs.

The earliest well-known madrasah under the Russian rule was Qashqar Madrasah, located in a village near Kazan, which was established in the mid-eighteenth century. With its brilliant teachers, this madrasah attracted students from the cities of Kazan, Orenburg, Semipalatinsk, and Kasimov.[3]

[1] Fatih Sayfi Kazanli and 'Âlimjan Shäräf, *Tatar Ili* (Kazan: Tatar Satsiyal Shûralar Jumhuriyäti Nashriyatï), 1920, 43.

[2] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Peterburgda 1914 Sänä Iyun 15-25dä Räsmî Jäm'iyät Münâsäbätiylä Islahat Äsaslarï: 1904-1915 Sänälärdä Rusya Musulmanlarïnïng Ijtimaî Haräkätlärinä Dâir* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiyä M. A. Maksutova, 1917), 59. (Hereafter cited as Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslari*).

[3] Dzhamalyutdin Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izd., 1923; Oxford: Society for Central Asian Studies Reprint Series no. 11, 1986), 18.

Bukharan madrasahs became the center of attraction for the Tatar students after the second half of the eighteenth century and continued to attract them throughout the nineteenth century.[1] Some returning students from Bukhara opened their own madrasahs in the Middle Volga and also attracted students among the Tatars who were not able to go to madrasahs in Bukhara owing to the hardship of traveling into Central Asia (on the camel) and financial burden involved (students had to buy a room from a madrasah which were in a limited number). The first large madrasahs, Akhun Madrasah and Apanay Madrasah opened in 1771 and 1780, respectively, in Kazan, initiating the "era of great madrasahs" in the Middle Volga area.[2] Other madrasahs followed these in urban centers such as Orenburg, Astrakhan, Troitsk, Qarghali as well as village madrasahs such as Machkar, Satish, Istarlibash, Tumtuq, Chaqmaq, Qaran, and Chalishli.[3]

At the turn of the century, the number of madrasahs increased steadily and many of them adopted the modern methods. The biggest of these reformed madrasahs were Muhammadiya, Apanay, Azimov, Marjanî in Kazan; 'Aliya, 'Usmaniya, and Husayniya in Orenburg; and Bubî Madrasah in Vyatka. The latter also had a madrasah for the girls.[4] By 1909 two more girls' madrasah were opened in Troitsk and Orenburg, and this number increased to seven in 1913.[5]

Sufis come next in importance to the 'ulamâ' as a group. Sufi orders, such as the Qadiriyya, Yasawiyya, and later Naqshbandiyya had a deep influence on Tatar public life. The Naqshbandiyya order was quite strong among the Tatars during the jadidist era. First, the Qadiriyya penetrated into the Middle Volga during the Bulghar kingdom.[6] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, following the Mongol invasion, a new wave of another sufî group, the Yasawiyya, came from Central Asia and established itself among the Tatars. About a century later, the missionaries of Naqshbandiyya from Bukhara penetrated strongly and that order assimilated others, remaining the dominant one up to the present time. Sufi orders affected the Tatar populace very deeply, and some foreign observers pointed to the Tatars' readiness to submit to Sufi shaykhs.[7] The entire Tatar literature came under the influence of Sufi ideology before the rise of jadidist (modern) Tatar literature at the turn of the century, and

[1] Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 170.

[2] Ibid., 171.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Tamurbek Davletshin, *Sovetskii Tatarstan*, 47.

[5] Ibid., 49.

[6] Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Mystics and Commissars: Sufism in the Soviet Union* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1985), 36-37.

[7] Victor Dingelsstedt, "The Mussulman Subjects of Russia," *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 19 (1903): 9.

principal Tatar writers and figures were either Sufis or related to Sufism in one way or another.[1]

Naqshbandiyya was widespread among the reformist Tatar 'ulamâ'. The major reformist figures such as 'Abd al-Nasr Qursavî (1771-1812), Shihâb al-Din Marjanî (1818-1889), Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, and 'Âlimjan Barudî (1857-1921) were drawn to the Naqshbandiyya. One French scholar of Tatar reformism went so far as to claim that almost all the early "enlighteners" including Qursavî, Marjanî, and Rizâ al-Din belonged to the Naqshbandiyya; According to him, Marjanî was a Naqshbandî *murshid* while Rizâ al-Din was a disciple of a Naqshbandî shaykh.[2] It is certainly clear from the sources that Naqshbandî shaykh Zayn Allah Rasulî (1833-1917) was in close contact with the jadidists and supported their activities. Also, the jadidist pedagogue Barudî became a Naqshbandî shaykh in his later life. However, it is difficult to verify this information in the primary sources, at least regarding the position of Qursavî, Marjanî, and Rizâ al-Din (which this study will discuss later).

Tatar merchants were third in the Tatar social hierarchy.[3] They were traders rather than artisans, and incude merchants from all the guilds.[4] In Kazan the Tatars chiefly traded manufactured goods, and its leather industry was famous.[5] Since Tatarstan was a crossroads of traditional trade, a strong group of Tatar merchants had existed since the time of their earliest settlements in the Middle Volga area. In the time of the Tatar state, there used to be a big market in the city of Bulghar, but after the city was ruined a big market in Kazan replaced it. Tradesmen used to come to these markets from Astrakhan, the Crimea, Daghestan, Turkistan, China and the towns of Russia proper. But after Shah 'Ali Khan (1518-21, 1526, 1551/52) built the city of Zuya and organized a market in that place, the market of Kazan lost its old importance.[6]

During the Russian rule, at times, Tatar merchants suffered from government restrictions, but with the removal of these limitations during the reign of Catherine II, Tatar merchants dominated trade between Russia and Kazakhstan and Central Asia.[7] They played an important role in the reform movement by their financial supports to Tatar students studying in Central Asia or in the Middle East, by building schools, establishing printing presses, supporting Tatar periodicals, as well by founding philanthropic societies.

[1] Bennigsen and Wimbush, *Mystics and Commissars*, 37.
[2] Ibid., 38.
[3] Dingelsstedt, 10.
[4] Haxthausen, 323.
[5] Sa'dî, *Tatar Ädäbiyati Tarikhi*, 11-12.
[6] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 6.
[7] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 19; A. Arsharuni and H. Z. Gabidullin, *Ocherki Panislamizma i Pantyurkizma v Rossii* (Moscow: Bezboznik, 1931), 8.

Lastly, Tatar aristocracy (*mirzas*), who remained alienated from their fellow Tatars and did not participate in reformist activities, must be included. After the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, Tatar princes or nobles entered government service rapidly became Russified, lost their influence over their own people, and were assimilated into Russian society without leaving any trace. They, therefore, were unable to lead the Tatar people on the path to a new life and civilization.[1]

The Tatar aristocracy (*mirzas*) obtained their education in modern Russian gymnasiums and higher educational institutions, and remained separate from their fellow Tatars, attaching themselves to the Russians. The large majority of the Tatar traditionally-educated class ('ulamâ') and the Tatar people looked upon the Tatar *mirzas* indifferently, regarding them as miserable deviants who had lost their way. The assimilated *mirzas* did not even attract the active criticism of the 'ulamâ'.

A European observer described Tatar social life in the mid-nineteenth century as follows: "In the Tatar villages the men rarely have more than one wife; in towns, particularly among the rich merchants, bigamy frequently occurs, but to have more than two wives is very rare. The women are sold, and the *kalïm* paid for them, even in the case of peasants, frequently amounts to five hundred rubles."[2]

Western civilization essentially came through Russian channels and caused a paradoxical effect on the Tatar intellectuals. On the one hand, it educated Tatars and made them curious about their own history and therefore increased their attachment to cultural values. On the other hand, it led Tatar intellectuals to question their Islamic tradition. Nevertheless, the national awakening of the Tatars had a great degree of religious color because Islam, as a belief and a specific form of culture, sharply distinguished them from their neighbors and played the major role in the protection of the Tatar "national" identity.

Westernization made the biggest impact on the Tatar 'ulamâ'. By the end of the nineteenth century, more and more madrasah students and graduates realized that the old type of resistance was no longer relevant in their rapidly changing world. Tatars had to learn to act differently, particularly given their geographic and politically problematic environment. Educated Tatars suddenly found themselves at a crossroads, requiring them to make an urgent decision in choosing the way to go. Should Tatars stay East, go West, or seek a compromise?

Tatar religious intellectuals answered this question in two basic ways: the first were the qadimists (*qadimchilär*). (A Tatar history book written in 1970

[1] Chobanzâde, *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqılâb*, 52-53.
[2] Haxthausen, 332.

described qadimists as representatives of the "feudal-clerical ideology in Tatar society, consisting of reactionary *mullahs*, and *ishans*."[1] This same source stated that their ideas came from medieval religious books and that they were against any kind of reform.) The qadimists commanded the largest share of popular support, especially in rural areas. Moreover, until 1917, they retained almost complete control over the Muslim Religious Administration of Orenburg.[2]

The second were the jadidists (*jädidchilär*). The name "jadidist" means "proponent of the new method of teaching." This conception of "new method" derives from the attempt of Ismail Gaspirali (1851-1914) to reform Tatar elementary schools (maktabs) by introducing the new method of teaching (*usûl-i jadîd*). His initiative became very productive and in a short time "new method" schools had become widespread. Later, due to various motivations, many maktabs imitated these model schools. Through Gaspirali's efforts, the desire to teach and study increased greatly.[3]

In addition to initiating the maktab reform, Gaspirali formulated the following reform program for the Muslims of Russia:

1. *The madrasahs should be reformed*: According to Ismail Gaspirali the meaning of reform was Europeanizing while retaining Islam.

2. *The Turkic languages should be unified*: If the Turkic peoples of Russia, who have various names but are essentially brothers, continue with the present differences, they will be gradually eroded by the waves of the surrounding Slavic sea and annihilated. Their divisions should be overcome. For this reason, before anything else, these languages should be unified. Not only the Turks of Russia, but all other Turks of the world should abandon the unnecessary Arabic and Persian vocabulary and have a single literary language and communicate in that language.

3. *Women's status should be reformed*: The Muslims of Russia should care about their education as well as men's education. If women's level of understanding remains below men's the community cannot continue.

4. *The strongest supporting point of nationality (milliyät) is religion*: Therefore the Muslims of Russia should reform their religious administration.

5. *The Muslims of Russia should certainly learn Russian*: This language is an important tool for benefiting from European knowledge. By learning Russian

[1] *Tatarstan ASSR Tarikhi* (Kazan: Tatarstan Kitap Nashriyatï, 1970), 236.
[2] Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, 36.
[3] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä* (Kazan: Elektro-Tipografiyä Ümid, 1912), 71.

the Muslims of Russia can participate in the political and economic life of Russia.[1]

Among the jadidists there was a considerable body of non-religious intellectuals. Soviet books favored and singled out these people and called them "enlighteners" (*ma'rifätchilär*) or "democratic and progressive intelligentsia".[2] Their early representative was 'Abd al-Qayyum Nâsirî (1825-1902). He was followed by Ibrahim Khalfin (1778-1829), Muhammad 'Ali Mahmudov (1824-1891), Husayn Fayzkhanov (1821-1866), and Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef (1870-1902). They were "away from being nationalist separatists and therefore friendly with Russians, and real enlighteners of the people."[3] Again, according to a Soviet history book, jadidists (or "ideologues of liberal bourgeois nationalism") seemed to be the followers of these progressive-democrats. The same source argued that jadidists differed from the *ma'rifätchilär* principally regarding their class basis; it asserted that while jadidists served the bourgeois class, *ma'rifätchilär* served the people's interests.[4]

2. Reconciliatory Attitude of the Tatar Reformists

This study will focus on the role of the religious reformers' aims in order to understand how the progressive-minded Tatar religious intellectuals, such as Marjanî and his followers, 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov (1852-1944), 'Âlimjan Barudî, Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, and Mûsa Jâr Allâh Bigiyef (1875-1949), tackled the difficulty of reforming their Tatar society in harmony with the fundamental values of Islam. The research will also investigate the reasons for the achievements and limitations of these Tatar reformers. The Tatar case provides an opportunity to test prevailing theories concerning the role of progressive-minded religious reformers of transitional societies (and their contribution to the formation of a modern group identity) in creating a harmonious transition.

The significance of this research lies especially in the fact that almost all Muslim societies have been experiencing agonies of transition for the past two centuries and now face the process of seeking a solid, stable resolution to the lack of harmony as a consequence of this transition period.

The research will try to answer the following analytical questions: 1. How effective was the impact of the Tatar religious reformers? 2. To what extent did the ferment caused by the reformers lead to an intellectual awakening? 3. How can scholars characterize the Tatar jadidists? 4. What sort of impact did the

[1] Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sâkin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dair," *Sırat-ı Müstakîm* 2: 39 (May 1325/1909): 202-203.
[2] *Tatarstan ASSR Tarikhi*, 236-37.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 238.

reformed schools produce, if any? 5. How did the political activities of the reformers contribute to re-shaping the structure of Tatar society?

The evidence gives grounds for proposing that, more than any other factor, a tendency toward conciliation between Islamic tradition and modern thought effected great change in Tatar society. Contrary to arguments found in some historiography, the evidence also shows that the reformist Tatar 'ulamâ' succeeded in transforming their society by providing it with models and standards to achieve. The following arguments support this proposition:

A. The major Tatar reformers appear as chief conciliators. They were the ones who shook the rigid attitude of the Tatar 'ulamâ' in regard to faith and the educational system. Although reformers' ideas about faith and their efforts to reorganize the educational system caused controversy, the intellectual ferment they created ultimately helped to open the way for change. Moreover, a closer look at their lives indicates their distinct characteristic, a willingness to adaptation from the Western scholars and science.

B. Distinct from extremist puritanical movements such as Wahhabism, the Tatar reformers' view of pristine Islam did not suggest exclusionary anti-Western or anti-Sufi tendencies. Some reformists even modeled their reforms on the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation (a radical concept within Islamic religious circles) with the idea, true or false, that purity of belief caused the West to progress. Also, many of the Tatar reformists showed an inclination to formulate a reinterpretation of the Islamic Golden Age in light of nineteenth-century Western concepts of freedom, equality, and progress. Naturally, this new interpretation of Islamic tradition appealed to those Tatars who came into contact with Western thought but, at the same time, wanted to maintain their Islamic identity. This reinterpretation also suited the needs of those Tatars who already integrated into Russian economic life.

Beside that, almost all major Tatar reformists reconciled their purificatory Islam with Sufism, sometimes referred to as the mystical dimension of Islam. This compromise seems to have broadened their base by allying them to the Tatar Sufis (at least some of them), who had a considerable popular support.

C. In contrast to the traditional Tatar opposition to Russian schooling, Tatar reformers promoted the reform of the traditional Tatar schools in line with the more modern Russian schools, with the added curriculum of Islamic subjects in a holistic approach. They did not encourage studying at Russian schools; rather, they attempted to raise Tatar schools to the same level as modern Russian schools. Their reformed schools, a compromise between the two extremes of modern Russian schools on the one hand, and old-fashioned Tatar schools on the other, gave birth to a new form of education based on a synthesis of enlightened Islam and modern thought which enabled the reformers to disseminate their ideas to the general Tatar population. In schooling, their attitude shows a reconciliatory tendency: The reformers wanted to incorporate modern scientific knowledge into the cirrucula of the traditional Muslim schools without losing their hold over Islamic subjects. In addition, reformers encouraged learning Russian with a hope that the Tatars would gain a more effective control of their own affairs. Simultaneously, teaching an enlightened form of Islam would have reinforced the Tatar youth's loyalty to his Islamic heritage. All these ideas and efforts at curriculum reform consequently helped to improve the political awareness of the Tatars.

D. In politics, the reformers' ability to work peacefully within the system instead of against it allowed them to achieve greater religious, cultural, and administrative autonomy for their community, not only for their fellow Tatars but, in turn, for other Muslim groups of the Russian Empire. Caucasians, Turkistanis and Kazakhs were able to benefit by the example of the Tatar reformers. The mainstream jadidists always avoided the militancy advocated by the peripheral faction of young Tatars. Especially after the 1905 Russian Revolution, they worked with the Russian liberals to remove the restrictions that the czarist government had imposed upon them. They saw the lifting of these restrictions as a tool for their cultural advancement. Therefore, their political activities to a great extent carry the color of a cultural movement.

Finally, the reformers convinced the more conservative elements in their community that equality of women would help them achieve greater autonomy by increasing their voting power. Also, by proving that Islam upholds the equality of women, they were able to win over Tatar women educated in the Russian schools.

In general, Soviet historiography concerning the early part of the twentieth century has denied the influence of the progressive-minded 'ulamâ'. Professor Bekir Chobanzâde,[1] for example, writing in the early Soviet period (1927), argued that the deliberately reformist activities of the Tatar reformist 'ulamâ' such as Marjanî and Mûsa Bigiyef did not introduce anything original. He believed that the reformist 'ulamâ' imitated Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant clerics. Like them, those 'ulamâ' responded to European civilization by making peace with it and assimilating it only to the extent that it would enable them to survive. The same scholar went on to say that "Tatar reformers opened the gate of *ijtihad* which had been closed since the twelfth century[2] and tried to replace old superstitions and myths with modernized versions of stories (*masallar*)."[3] Further, he claimed that reforms were brought about by real life necessities, not

[1] Chobanzâde, *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqïlâb,* 58.

[2] A modern scholar of Islamic history pointed out that the gate of *ijtihad* was closed earlier than this date, in the ninth century: Marshal G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* vol 2., (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 406.

[3] Chobanzâde, *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqïlâb,* 58.

by the reformist 'ulamâ'. That is, he believed that the inevitable consequences of the new social developments had created the reforms, and the reformist 'ulamâ' only sanctified activities that were already silently accepted and performed by the Tatar public. They cautiously justified the introduction of new ideas in order to affirm that these modern ideas and values were in complete accordance with the *shari'a*. He further claimed that the 'ulamâ"s efforts to modernize religion by rationalizing modern developments had no impact on people's lives. In either case, when confronted with economic and social difficulties, Tatars created their own edicts (*fatwâs*) and did not need permission from religious authorities.

Another Soviet view expressed in a history book claimed that although jadidists opened the new method (*usûl-i jadîd*) schools and these provided elementary knowledge of science to the students, and acquainted Tatar students with Russian culture, they did not really enlighten people.[1] They did not criticize the basis of Islam, but they sought to compromise Islam with the needs of contemporary life and tried to purify Islam of its outdated aspects.[2] "As a natural result of this orientation, later jadidists turned out to be reactionary pan-Islamists and pan-Turkists."[3] The book went on to say that some of these jadidists, such as 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov and Yusuf Akçuraoğlu (1876-1935), were "Turkish agents."[4]

Some non-Soviet historians also have neglected the effect of the religious reformers or belittled their contribution. For example, a Bashkort historian criticized the reform efforts of Mûsa Bigiyef of the Tatars along with Muhammad 'Abduh (1839-1905) of Egypt and Mahmud Esad (1856-1918) of Turkey as being backward-looking. He argued that the jadidists' effort to reform Islam was useless, and by accepting the spirit perpetuated in medieval society, they essentially advocated regressing thirteen hundred years.[5]

In order to understand how effective the impact of the religious reformers was, the research will examine the extent to which the ferment caused by the religious wing of the jadidists led to an intellectual awakening among Tatar intellectuals. In addition, analyzing the activities and ideas of the major religious jadidists will lead to a substantial understanding of the intellectual history of Tatar society at the turn of the century, and will investigate the role of religious intellectuals in establishing a bridge between Muslim and Russian thinking. An investigation of the ideas of the jadidists Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din, and Mûsa Bigiyef will give some understanding of how they and other reformist 'ulamâ'

[1] *Tatarstan ASSR Tarikhi,* 238.
[2] Ibid., 239.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 302.
[5] Ahmed Zeki Velidî [Togan], "İbn Haldun Nazarında İslam Hükümetlerinin İstikbâli." *Bilgi Mecmuası* 2: 7 (1914): 741-43.

developed as ideologists of reconciliation between Islamic tradition and contemporary needs.

There will also be an inquiry into the cultural and educational activities of the reformist 'ulamâ' aimed at motivating the Muslim public to study, to become aware of the outside world, and to purify their beliefs. Studying the nature of the activities of educational reform and the success or failure of these activities in reaching people will show the extent of the reformers' effectiveness in awakening the public, as it reveals their coordinated efforts to change the society. As a part of the reformers' program of effective schooling, educating the public, the research will focus also upon efforts to achieve the cultural revival of Muslims.

Finally, this research will investigate the scope of the political activities of the jadidists in order to evaluate their contribution to the national evolution of contemporary Tatar society.

3. Historiography of Tatar Reformism

The existing historiography generally is either very critical of the pious reformers or tries to minimize their contributions to Tatar modernization. In addition, many histories carry a nationalistic bias and represent these religious reformers as pioneers of the nationalist movement. As a result, the historians tend to neglect the religious aspects of the Tatar reform movement.

This study is primarily based upon the known available Tatar published material, including periodicals, and since it concentrates on the religious thinking of the Tatar intellectuals, the Tatar materials comprise the bulk of the primary sources. Sources in Russian, Turkish and English languages provide secondary and general background works for this study.

For the renewal and reform movements in Muslim societies, the best treatments are: John O. Voll's "Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: *Tajdid* and *Islah*" (1983); Fazlur Rahman's "Revival and Reform in Islam" (1970); and John L. Esposito's "Revival and Reform" (1987).

For works related to the Tatar religious intellectuals and their role at the turn of the century, sources include the following works: Ahmed Zeki Velidî [Togan]'s "İbn Haldun Nazarında İslam Hükümetlerinin İstikbâli" (1914), Abdullah Battal-Taymas' *Kazan Türkleri* (1925), Bekir Chobanzâde's *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqïlâb* (1927), Akdes Nimet Kurat's "Kazan Türklerinin 'Medeni Uyanış' Devri" (1966), and Azade-Ayse Rorlich's *The Volga Tatars* (1986).

For the main figures of the Tatar intellectual awakening, the dissertation relies on the following sources: *Zaman Kalindarï* (1909-1913); *Marjanî* (1915), an excellent study on the life and works of the leading religious reformer, Marjanî; Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din's *Âsar* (1900-1908), a comprehensive

work dealing with the biographies of the Muslim theologians and saints who flourished in what is now Tatarstan from the tenth century on; Abdullah Battal-Taymas' biographical works, *Musa Carullah Bigi* (1958), *Rızaeddin Fahreddinoğlu* (1958), and *Âlimcan Barudi* (1958).

Sources for Tatar history and literature include Dzhamalyutdin Validov's *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar* (1923), the most complete analysis of the Tatar reform movement and valuable for the activities of the reformers; 'Ali Rahim and 'A. 'Aziz's *Tatar Ädäbiyatï Tarihi* (1923), a comprehensive literary history of the Kazan Tatars from the beginning to the nineteenth century; Shihâb al-Din Marjanî's *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr fi Akhwâl Qazan wa Bulghar* (1897, 1900), an extensive cultural history of the Kazan Tatars; and 'Abd al-Rahman Sa'adî's *Tatar Ädäbiyatï Tarikhi* (1926), a valuable literary history of the Kazan Tatars, including information devoted to Tatar religious reform.

Arminius Vambéry's *Western Culture in Eastern Lands* (1906) contains important insights about the Kazan Tatars and the Islamic reform movement as well as Yusuf Akçuraoğlu's *Türk Yılı 1928* (1928) and Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Quelquejay's *Les mouvements nationaux chez les musulmans de Russie: le 'Sultangaliêvisme' au Tatarstan* (1960).

For educational reform: Russian scholar and diplomat Nikolai Vladimirovich Khanykov's (1819-1878) *Opisanie Bukharskago Khanstva* (1843)[1]; Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef's *Maväraünnahrda Säyahat* (1908), an account by a Kazan Tatar of his travel into Central Asia in 1893; Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef's works *Khalk Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä* (1912), *Rahmät-i Ilahiyä Bürhanlarï* (1911), *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä ilä 'Ulûm-ï Islamiyä* (n.d.); and Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din's *Âdâb-ï Ta'lîm* (1908). Finally, Isabelle Teitz Kreindler's "Educational Policies toward the Eastern Nationalities in czarist Russia: a Study of Il'minskii's System" (1969-1970), is a useful dissertation on the Russian government's attempt to integrate the eastern nationalities through schooling.

For the political activities of the reformers a scholar should consult the records and books concerning the meetings of the Tatar activists. Between 1905 and 1917 five general congresses of the Muslims of Russia and two 'ulamâ' councils took place, and sources have documented most of them adequately and accurately. Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef's excellent work *Islahat Äsaslarï* (1917) provided a record, almost like a stenographic report, of everything said in one meeting. It is the best source for the First 'Ulamâ' Council (Ufa, 10-15 April 1905), and First and Second Congresses of the Muslims of Russia[2] (Nijni-Novgorod, 15 August 1905 and St. Petersburg, 12-23 January 1906,

[1] Translated into English as *Bokhara: Its Amir and Its People* (1845). This work provides the best description of Bukhara before the Russian conquest.

[2] Hereafter cited as First, Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses.

respectively). Third Congress (Nijni-Novgorod, 16-20 August 1906) also was clearly and minutely recorded by Bigiyef in his work *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri* (1906). Unfortunately, Fourth Congress (St. Petersburg, June 1914) seems not to have been adequately covered in published records.

For the First All-Russian Muslim Congress and the most important general meeting (Moscow, 1-11 May 1917) a lengthy protocol, recorded by stenographers, was issued under the title *Bütün Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng 1917nchi Yïlda 1-11 Mayda Mäskävdä Bulghan 'Umûmî Isyäzdining Protokollarï* (1917). A pamphlet entitled *'Ulamâ' Ittifaqï* (1917) described the Second 'Ulamâ' Council (Kazan, 18-27 July 1917).

Tatar periodicals between 1905 and 1918 also offer considerable information about the jadidists, the topics they were discussing, their concerns and activities. For a comprehensive and systematic discussion of Tatar periodicals, researchers need to consult Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay's *La Presse et le Mouvement National chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (1964), an exhaustive reference work on the Tatar Press up to 1920. The best representative of conservative journals was *Din vä Ma'ishät* (Orenburg, 1906-1917). The most long-lasting and effective reformist periodicals were Ismail Gaspirali's newspaper *Tärjüman* (Bakhchasaray, 1883-1918) and Rizâ al-Din's journal *Shûrâ* (Orenburg, 1908-1918). Readers may also consult V. V. Barthold's *Mir Islama* (St. Petersburg, 1912-1914) for the point of view of the Russian Orientalists of that period. The best literary-cultural journal among today's Kazan Tatars is *Kazan Utlari* (Kazan, 1922-).

With this background established, the next step will be to inquire into the neglected dimension of the Tatar reformism (Traditionalism) by examination of the ideas and strategies of the major reformist leaders.

Chapter II

INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING

The words *tradition* and *treason* have the same Latin root of *traditio*, that is, the action of handing over teaching. According to *Webster's Word Histories* dictionary, "Tradition is maintained by passing information from one generation to another, whereas treason is committed when someone who has been entrusted with information passes it on to someone else."[1] The problem of distinguishing tradition from treason could also be seen as a Tatar problem. The jadidists saw the qadimists as traitors and considered themselves as the real preservers of the line of tradition. Ironically, however, they became traitors themselves, betrayers in the eyes of the qadimists. The present chapter will explore some of these conflicts among jadidists and qadimists, and will focus mainly on four distinguished scholars, Qursavî, Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din, and Bigiyef, who were extremely influential in the revivalist reforms.

Their confrontation and religious polemics went so far that some qadimists considered the jadidists even more injurious to Islam than the Orthodox missionaries: the qadimists thought that the attack of missionaries came from outside, and, therefore, had little effect, whereas the jadidists, in the guise of Muslims, attacked Islam from within, and their attack was more destructive. In the eyes of some qadimists, the jadidists were traitors who were receiving money from the Orthodox missionaries to destroy Islam.[2]

What made Qursavî and Marjanî, the leading religious reformers different from their contemporary qadimist clerics? They got the same education as these qadimists, they were pious, and they were knowledgeable in the Islamic sciences. Therefore, what made the qadimists bitter opponents of the jadidist 'ulamâ' to such an extent that each group charged the other with betrayal of Islamic tradition?

The first known conflict occurred in Bukhara. According to Marjanî's account:

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[1] "Treason," *Webster's Word Histories* (Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1989), 474.

[2] Cafer Seydahmet Kırımlı, *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey* (İstanbul: Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1934), 51.

> Qursavî went to Bukhara for the second time, and proceeded to attack what he considered the deviation of Bukharans from the right path (*ahl-i Sunna*) and the way of *salaf*. Big disputes took place between Qursavî and the 'ulamâ' of Bukhara and later he was summoned into the presence of Amir Haydar [1800-1826]. After spreading many rumors about him, most of the 'ulamâ', either because of their ignorance or their stubbornness, or because of their fear of the Amir, did not listen to Qursavî and as a consequence of their wrong (*bâtïl*) struggle, rejected his ideas. After expressing nonsensical (*malaya'ni*) and incorrect (*bâtïl*) beliefs, the 'ulamâ' finally threatened him with execution, asking him to repent of holding his wrong beliefs and forcing him to read a text of faith saying "my belief and school is such and such." All of his writings were burned from then on, and town criers (*münâdîs*) shouted in the streets threatening the holders of Qursavî's writings with execution.[1]

Charges of deviation from the way of the ancestors (*salaf*), however, were neither new nor revolutionary. Like Qursavî, traditionalist scholars and the adherents of the Hanbalî school of thought aimed primarily to defend Islam against "foreign cultural currents"[2] and struggled against any kind of deviation from orthodox Islamic thought. The most prominent Traditionalists, such as Taqî al-Din ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and the founder of the Wahhâbî movement Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb (1703-1792) were violently hostile to Muslim scholastic theology (*kalâm*). It seems that the Tatar reformists such as Qursavî, Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din, and Bigiyef inherited this Hanbalî opposition to *kalâm*.

1. Traditionalism of the Reformists

Anyone who reads the writing of the religious reformists will come across their obsession with anti-*kalâm* and pro-*salaf* attitude. For example, Mûsa Bigiyef said:

> In the first centuries of Islam a thing was coined called "the science of *kalâm*". At that time the greatest of *imams* [founders of the Sunnî schools], for whatever reason, severely forbade the study of *kalâm*. Later, I realized the meaning of this prohibition. I understood why this subject of study was called "the science of talk." It is because it deals with unscientific and empty talk. I realized this after wasting my precious time. Muslim countries also understood this after they lost their glory, civilization, and dominance.[3]

[1] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 168. After this event, Qursavî moved out of Bukhara, came to Khiva, then to Astrakhan, where he withdrew to the countryside. In 1812, however, he went to Istanbul, with the intention of making a pilgrimage, but died there of cholera. Ibid., 169.

[2] George Makdisi, "Remarks on Traditionalism in Islamic Religious History," in *The Conflict of Traditionalism and Modernism in the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Carl Leiden, (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1965), 79.

[3] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 2.

The reformists also explained the decline of the Muslim world by this ideological deviation from the pure creed of the early Muslims (*salaf*) to the distorted ideology of the medieval Muslim theologians (*mutakallimûn*):

> The regressive effect of *mutakallimûn* ideology showed itself particularly in the scientific decline in madrasahs. Under the dominance of Ash'arî *kalâm*, Muslim writers occupied and satisfied themselves with writing commentaries and super-commentaries on *kalâm* books, at the same time Muslim madrasahs busied themselves with studying mainly commentaries on *kalâm* books. This made the Muslim world sluggish and that led to its decline.[1]

The Tatar reformists never tired of pointing out the defects of the *mutakallimûn*, and if scholars look at their explanations, the following emerge as the basic reasons for their attack:

1. The first reason for the reformist detestment for the Muslim scholastic theologians was that they believed that the *mutakallimûn* deprived the Muslim mind of free inquiry and reasoning. They regarded their own ideas as an integral part of Islamic dogma and accused people who did not conform with them of heresy. The *mutakallimûn* caused the closing of "the gate of *ijtihad*" which led to the prevalence of the *taqlîd* mentality.[2]

2. Reformers explicitly denied the value of study of *kalâm*, viewing it as a mere intellectual exercise and a source of confusion. Bigiyef, mistrusting Greek tradition and its implications, argued that the hypothesis and speculation of Greek philosophy, translated into Arabic, had poisoned the mind of Muslims. The *mutakallimûn* raised doubts about the essentials of the faith, and this resulted in pollution and degeneration of the pure faith (*'aqîdah*) of Islam. Speculative thoughts and controversies filled the minds of Muslim scholars, leading them to social, economic, and civil decadence. Mûsa Bigiyef even argued that speculative Greek thought, by causing anarchy in Islamic doctrine, was one of the causes of decline in the Muslim world. However, this assertion contains a major historical error. Contrary to his claim, the golden era of Islamic science coincides with the introduction of Greek thought into the Islamic world, that is the centuries following the ninth century.

Rizâ al-Din believed that *salaf* disapproved of the school of *kalâm* because it spread confusion and skepticism among Muslims: "People who occupied themselves with *kalâm*, became totally confused in the later days of their lives and some of them proclaimed their returning to the faith of ordinary Muslims."[3]

[1] Ibid., 34-35.

[2] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä ilä 'Ulûm-ï Islamiyä* (Kazan: Lito-tipografiyä, n.d.), 9-10.

[3] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Ibn Taymiyya* (Orenburg: Vaqt Matba'asï, 1911), 38.

3. The *mutakallimûn* had caused divisions by introducing Greek speculative thought, and they caused disunity, sectarianism, and doctrinal anarchy. Bigiyef argued that:

> the clash of the Mu'tazila and Ash'ariyya theological schools had started a great conflict among Muslims. Ibn Kulab Abû Muhammad b. Sa'id, one of the greatest followers of the Ash'ariyya school initiated the heretical invention of talking about the attributes of God. The Ash'ariyya also shaped Islamic principles in accordance with Greek speculative thought.[1]

Bigiyef, moreover, argued that the Ash'ariyya put too much emphasis on the nature and essence of God while giving almost no value to the social aspect of *shari'a*.[2] He continued to claim that in the later period, ignorant *mutakallimûn* polluted the Ash'ariyya school and, in particular, the teachings of the later members of Ash'ariyya established principles most suitable to allowing bad morals and political intrigue.[3]

4. The *mutakallimûn* were detached from practical problems. The dominance of theological discussions in the Muslim world limited science to formulating vain assumptions with no practical or material benefits. Bigiyef rejected the idea of dealing with issues that had no practical benefit such as philosophy and *kalâm*. In his opinion, these sciences had no place in the social aspects of the *shari'a* (*shari'at-ï ijtimaiya*). Bigiyef's idea was not new: it was Ibn Taymiyya's idea in favor of using reason in the service of solving practical and social problems rather than abstract theology.[4]

5. *Kalâm* books made the teaching system of the madrasahs deteriorate. These fossilized manuals, still the main subjects of the madrasah curriculum in the nineteenth century, were taught to all theology students. Rizâ al-Din bitterly expressed his opinion about these subjects: "We are wasting the lives of our children with outdated philosophies inherited from Greeks and with distorted translations... How much longer will we keep poisoning the minds of our students and wasting the futures of our children by teaching such books?!"[5]

6. Finally, the jadidists believed that *mutakallimûn* caused the neglect of the study of the Qur'an and Tradition.

[1] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *al-Luzûmiyyat* (Kazan: Elektro-tipografiyä Sharaf', 1907): 82.
[2] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Büyük Mävzularda Ufaq Fikirlär* (St. Petersburg: Tip. M. A. Maksutova, 1914), 22-23.
[3] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 55.
[4] Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 18.
[5] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Adab-ï Ta'lim*, 2d ed., (Kazan: Elektro-Tipografiya Sharaf, 1908), 75.

What made the qadimists particularly angry was this anti-*kalâm* attitude of the jadidists, and they concentrated especially on defending *kalâm* and *kalâm* scholars.

> The enemies of religion [reformists] discarded and removed the science of *kalâm* from many madrasahs... They also removed *mantiq* from the curriculum by calling it ancient Greek scholasticism."[1]

Qadimists were also against Wahhâbism and considered jadidism the same as Wahhâbism. In an article entitled "Who are the Wahhâbîs?" ("*Wahhâbîlär Kimlär*?") the author called Wahhâbism a contagious disease whose microbes penetrate the minds of those who never dealt with *mantiq* and *kalâm*.[2] Their accusation of a jadidist-Wahhâbî connection was not unfounded since at least one Tatar jadidist, Mûsa Bigiyef, openly praised the Wahhâbîs. He called Wahhâbis "the purest and the most mature believers" and regarded the government of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb as the exemplary Islamic government like that of the first four caliphs.[3]

As was briefly mentioned before, under the inspiration of the Hanbalî school of thought and the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab started a reform movement redefining what true Islam is. He urged Muslims to return to the way of their early Muslim forerunners (*salaf*) and reemphasized the monist feature of Islam, rejecting all innovations alien to the spirit of early Islam. These heretical innovations included Sufism, saint worship and all other beliefs and acts that constituted a kind of worshipping of gods other than God alone.[4]

It has been difficult to pinpoint how the Tatar reformers became interested in the *salafî* ideology. The first known sign of *salafism* among the Tatars goes back to Qursavî. He studied in Central Asia where the influence of the Muslim Indian reformers reached. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindî's (d. 1625) reformist (*Mujaddidî*) branch of the Naqshbandiyya spread its influence in Central Asia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both Qursavî and Marjanî attended the lectures of Ishan Niyazqulu al-Turkmanî, a Naqshbandî-*Mujaddidî* shaykh. Tatar students and disciples brought this influence to the Tatar homeland. 'Abd al-Hakim b. Batlay (d. 1757/58) in the town of Qarghali and Shaykh Zayn Allah

[1] "Dïn düshmanlarï 'ilm-i kalâmï chürüb bitgän mu'täzilä vä râfïz nizâ'larï diyä, 'ilm-i mantïqï isä iski Yunan iskholastiqasï diyä köb yärdä mädräsälärimizdän chïghartub bitürdülär." 'Andalîb, "Hayyä 'alâ al-Siyanä." *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 3 (January 1910): 57.
[2] *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 46 (December 1910): 732.
[3] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, "Son Zaman Vahhabîlärinin Siyasî-Dinî Ghayäläri," *'Asrî Müslümanlïq* 7 (October 1925): 157-58.
[4] Hourani, 37.

Rasulî in the city of Troitsk propagated the reformist Naqshbandî ideas.[1] It seems that the order encouraged close attachment to the Qur'an and eliminating the later additions to Islam, as did the *salafî* ideology.

Another channel of *salafiyya* came through the Middle East. There was a flow of reformist ideas coming from Egypt and Hijaz. It is difficult to estimate the extent of it, but because of easier transportation by the end of the nineteenth century, more and more Tatars visited Egypt, Syria and Hijaz for pilgrimage and educational purposes. In addition to these visits, books, journals and newspapers published in the Middle East reached the Muslims of Russia: no doubt it was through them the reformist ideas must have penetrated into the Kazan region. For example, Ismail Gaspirali, Mûsa Bigiyef, and Abdullah Battal-Taymas [Mûsa ʿAbd Allah] (1882-1969) stayed in Egypt. Gaspirali even published an Arabic journal called *al-Nahda* (Renaissance) together with Battal-Taymas who studied in Egypt and also published a book about the biographies of Jamal al-Din al-Afghanî (1838/9-1897) and 'Abduh.[2] Mûsa Bigiyef studied under the supervision of Shaiykh Bakhit, met with 'Abduh and corresponded with Muhammad Farid Wajdî (1875-1954). An article by him appeared in the famous reformist journal *al-Manâr*. In addition to these contacts, reformist newspapers and journals such as *al-Manâr* and *al-Habl al-Matîn* found readers among the Tatar Muslims. All of these contacts with the Muslim reformists outside the Kazan region must have helped the development of the Tatar version of Islamic reform.

The Middle Eastern influence also shows itself in the eager efforts of Tatar reformers such as Rizâ al-Din and Bigiyef to revive Arabic classics. They longed to create a new Islamic literature connected with the long neglected books of earlier critical scholars and thinkers such as Abû al-'alâ al-Ma'arrî (973-1057), Abû Hâmid Muhammad al-Ghazzâlî (1050-1111), the famous sufî Muhy al-Din Ibn al-'Arabî (1165-1240), and Ibn Taymiyya. The period they favored extended from the ninth up to the thirteenth century, before the European Renaissance, when the Islamic world experienced a period of creativity, and what the reformists tried to do was to revive the classics of this period. Interestingly, a similar movement of literary revival of Arabic classics took place in Egypt during the reign of Ismâ'il in 1860s and 1870s.[3] This probably explains the interest of Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din's efforts to revive

[1] Hamid Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev: The Last Naqshbandi Shaykh of the Volga-Urals Region," in *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change*, ed. Jo-Ann Gross (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 113-15.

[2] Mûsa 'Abd Allah [Abdullah Battal-Taymas], *Islam Fäyläsoflarï: Muhammad 'Abduh al-Misrî, Jamal al-Din al-Afghanî* (Kazan: Kharitonäf Matba'asï, n.d.).

[3] Nadav Safran, *Egypt in Search of Political Community: An Analysis of the Intellectual and Political Evolution of Egypt, 1804-1952* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 57-59.

Islamic literature of the period before the Muslim decline. As stated before, Bigiyef visited and studied in Egypt for a couple of years then returned home in 1904, while Rizâ al-Din extensively read the writings of Egyptian and Syrian Arab writers as well as newspapers and journals from the Arab world. Naturally, they must have been aware of and influenced by this movement.

There is no doubt that al-Afghanî's visit to Russia also had an important impact on some Tatar intellectuals. Al-Afghanî stayed in St. Petersburg for eighteen or nineteen months, regularly met with the Tatar intellectuals, and wrote articles for Russian newspapers about the politics of Turkey, Russia, England, Iran and Afghanistan. He even became a member of St. Petersburg Geographic Society. The Tatar writer Muhammad Fatih Kerimî (1871-1945) and other Tatars met with him several times.[1]

Rizâ al-Din acknowledged his debt to the ideas of al-Afghanî, 'Abduh and Rashid Ridâ, and stated that it was al-Afghanî who drew his attention to the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya, the promoter of the *salafî* ideology.[2] Marjanî, perhaps for the first time, introduced the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya among the Kazan Tatars. Rizâ al-Din and 'Âlimjan Barudî followed Marjanî by directly studying the works of Ibn Taymiyya. Rizâ al-Din even wrote a monograph about him. Then, many young Tatars became familiar with the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350).[3]

Marjanî focused a great deal on the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet and tried to follow the way of the early Muslims (*salaf*) in issues of belief (*i'tiqad*) and practices (*'ibâdats*). He adhered to the practices and beliefs of the first and the second centuries of the *Hegira* (seventh and eighth centuries A.D.) and rendered judgment based on the practices and the sources of that period. He claimed that the later scholars deviated from the way of the early Muslims.[4]

It is important to know whom the jadidists meant when they refer to *salaf*. They do not seem to have meant personalities who lived in a certain period of time but rather they referred to the representatives of the true Islam. They call Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (the great theologians of the Islamic centuries) *salaf*.

Rizâ al-Din frequently mentions the term "scholars of *salaf*" as a perfect model for Islamic belief and practice, and gives examples to show how the *salaf* appreciated the value of science.

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, "Mäshhur Adamlar wä Ulugh Hadisälär: Shaykh Jamâl al-Din," *Shûrâ* 10: 16 (August, 1917): 364.

[2] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Ibn Taymiyya*, 96-97.

[3] Ibid., 99.

[4] Shahir Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli" in *Marjanî*, ed. Sâlih b. Sâbit 'Ubayd Ullin, (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 172-76.

> The works of the *salaf* were quite illuminating. However, after the late sixth century of the Hegira (the late twelfth century A.D.), some people started to summarize these works. Later generations started to write commentaries (*sharh*) to these summaries and the third generation started to write commentaries on earlier commentaries (*hâshiyas*). Thus the works which the qadimists of our time clung to so persistently as *salaf* works are far from being original *salaf* works.[1]

All of this evidence regarding the jadidist obsession with *salafî* idealization of the early Islam and anti-*kalâm* attitude clearly shows the Traditionalist or backward-looking aspect of the religious reformists. They rejected everything that did not fit in with the idealized, pure and simple belief system of the early Muslims (*salaf*). The reformists believed that if Muslims gathered around the faith and way of the early Muslims, they would free themselves from sectarianism and fanaticism.[2] They believed that in the days of the early Islamic community (*'asr-ï sa'adat*), the period of the life of the Prophet and the first decades of Islam, the belief system of Muslims was pure and simple. The *salaf* did not need attachment to one of the four Sunnî schools, and the reformists saw this era as the perfect example of belief and practices and tried to recapture the spirit of that time.

In order to understand the roots of the conflict between jadidist and qadimists, it is helpful to analyze the biographies of the four major reformist leaders who were widely accepted by their contemporaries as well as modern scholars of the Tatar reform.

3. The Major Reformist 'Ulamâ' as Master Conciliators

Rather than dealing with all the Tatar religious reformers, this research has concentrated on Qursavî, Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din, and Bigiyef because they represent the major lines of the Tatar religious reform movement. During their lifetime and today, these reformists have been accepted as the primary personalities of religious reform. Analysis of these figures, who were active in the cultural and religious life of the Tatar community, will provide information about what pool or supply they came from and how extensive it was. Another reason for this choice was the relatively ample material available on these personalities other than Qursavî. However, as the primary reformist, it was crucial to focus on him. Rizâ al-Din and Bigiyef were themselves prolific writers; therefore they provided enough material for analysis.

At the same time, this research does not wish to overlook the contribution of many other Tatar religious reformers, particularly, 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov, Hasan 'Ata 'Abashî (b. 1863), 'Âlimjan Barudî, and 'Abd Allah Bubî (1871-

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âdâb-ï Ta'lîm*, 53.
[2] Ibid., 4.

1922). At certain points, therefore, this study will refer also to the ideas of these other reformist 'ulamâ'.

The first reformist to agitate for change among the Tatar 'ulamâ' was 'Abd al-Nasr Qursavî. His theological discussions stimulated the awakening of a new era after centuries of stagnation in Muslim religious thought.

A. 'Abd al-Nasr Qursavî (1771-1812)

> ... Qursavî received his early education from *mullah* Muhammad Rahim of Mächkärä, then went to Bukhara. For a while he audited the lectures of Ishan Niyazquli al-Turkmanî and met some other scholars, then returned to his home village, Qursa, where he became *imam*, *khatîb* and *mudarris*. There, he built a big madrasah and gathered a large number of students. By studying *Ihyâ-i Ulûm* of al-Ghazzâlî and other works by men of inquiry and early scholars (*mutaqaddimûn*) he inquired into the real way of righteous men and the right path (*ahl-i sunna wa'l-jama'a*), also obtaining information about the deviation of the *muta'akhkhirûn* and *kalâm* scholars from the way of Islamic Faith.[1]

This brief account by Marjanî, Qursavî's main disciple, gives some clues about the background and ideological transformation of Qursavî. Like the other 'ulamâ' of his time, he received a traditional Muslim education and, like his contemporary Tatar 'ulamâ', he journeyed to Central Asia in order to study in the famous educational institutions of that time. So far, there is nothing unusual. However, it becomes clear that, in addition to formal courses he studied at the madrasah or madrasahs, he attended the lectures of a sufî shaykh, Ishan Niyazquli al-Turkmanî.

Al-Turkmanî belonged to the *Mujaddidî* (reformist) branch of the Naqshbandiyya. Qursavî's presence at the lectures of al-Turkmanî[2] suggests his awareness of, but not necessarily his affiliation with, this reformist Naqshbandiyya. Probably this channel contributed to the revivalist orientation of his thinking.

Another thing we learn from this quotation is Qursavî's rejection of the teachings of Ash'arî *kalâm* a dominant theology at that time in the madrasahs of Bukhara as well as in the Kazan region. Qursavî, in condemning *kalâm*, regarded it as the product of speculative Greek thought. He criticized Ash'arî theologians for their ascription of attributes to God (*Allahïn sïfatlari*), claiming that the theologians themselves were the ones who invented such attributes.[3]

Qursavî wrote at least one of his books, *A Commentary on the Qur'an* (*Häft-i Yäk Täfsiri*) in his native language, Turkî, at a time when religious

[1] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 168.
[2] Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev, The Last Naqshbandi Shaykh of the Volga-Urals Region," 114.
[3] Mahmud Tahir, "Abunnasir Kursavi 1776-1812," *Central Asian Survey* 8: 2 (1989): 156.

scholars wrote almost exclusively in Arabic. This may be interpreted as a sign of his revivalist agenda of spreading religious knowledge among ordinary people by writing in their native language. In this way, less educated people would have direct access to the religious knowledge that would help them develop their own reasoning about religious matters to a certain degree, diminishing their dependence on the religious scholars.

Qursavî's Traditionalist tendency has been misrepresented in most of the secondary sources, except Algar's article which mentions the influence of the reformist Naqshbandiyya on Tatar reformists. One author has drawn the conclusion that Qursavî came up with new ideas all of a sudden seeking to "save himself from the domination of the medieval scholastic mentality of the Bukharan madrasahs, and interpreted religious matters according to his independent thinking."[1] However, Qursavî's revivalist ideology aimed at returning to the creed of purity of the early Muslims, as was seen in the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and Shah Wali Allah Dihlawî (1702-1762), which had a long tradition among the 'ulamâ'. With Qursavî's initiative, the Traditionalist ideology reappeared among the Tatar 'ulamâ' at a time when the ideology of *mutakallimûn* had an absolute dominance. Naturally this caused a conflict among the 'ulamâ'.

Following Qursavî's trial in Bukhara, it seems that condemning the ideas of Qursavî became a sort of conformist attitude among the 'ulamâ'. However, the campaign of the 'ulamâ' against Qursavî's thinking did not put an end to the spread of his ideas. Furthermore, his most loyal follower in thinking, Marjanî, initially opposed the ideas of Qursavî. A scholar of Tatar history claimed that Marjanî was unaware of Qursavî's ideas and arrived independently at the same thought as Qursavî.[2] Contrary to what this scholar claimed, however, Marjanî's own account definitely shows that he was deeply influenced by Qursavî's ideas in his early youth.[3]

B. Shihâb al-Din Marjanî (1818-1889)

Among the Kazan Tatars, Marjanî became the first effective catalyst for recognition of the weaknesses in Islamic society, and a precursor of those who sought to strengthen Muslim society by reforming education and removing the later layers added to the core of Islam. He was one of the first reformers to confront seriously the problem of adapting Muslim traditions to new problems. A close examination of this precursor reformer may give some clues to understanding the making of a reformer.

[1] Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Kazan Türklerinin 'Medeni Uyanış' Devri," *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Dergisi* 24: 3-4 (July-September, 1966): 101.
[2] Ibid., 102.
[3] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 30, 57.

Marjanî was born into a scholarly family at Yabanchi village near the city of Kazan in 1818. Both his father's and his mother's families produced many religious scholars and prayer leaders (*imams*). Marjanî's grandfather, Subhan (d. 1834), had served as prayer leader (*imam*) of the villages of Jäki and Husni for 25 years, after which he resigned, occupying himself with trade until his death. Marjanî's father, Bahâ al-Din (d. 1856), who studied in the city of Bukhara, was one of those who had an audience with Amir Haydar Tora, the ruler of Bukhara, became an *imam* and teacher (*mudarris*) in the village of Yabanchi and later in Tashkichü, serving in this post for almost forty years. His maternal grandfather, Mullah 'Abd al-Nasr b. Sayf al-Mulk Simbir (d. 1833), was also a distinguished scholar of his time.[1]

Financially, Marjanî came from the lower-middle class, as did most of the 'ulamâ' (*ruhanîlär*) at that time, although it is claimed that he came from a rich family of Kazan city, named "Apanays."[2] However, information given in biographies of him does not suggest this.

Marjanî had undergone the customary Muslim traditional education. Thus he studied Arabic grammar, logic, theology, Islamic law, and the methodology of Islamic law. In addition, he busied himself with reading books from his father's private library, and was especially interested in the history and biographies of Muslims of the past.[3] Up to this point, before 1838, it appears that Marjanî showed no inclination toward changing his religious tendencies. He always stayed in his village, not even visiting the city of Kazan, which was not far from his home.

Change started with a journey to Bukhara, which opened up a new marketplace of ideas for him. This was in 1838, when, at the age of 20, he decided to leave Yabanchi in order to expand his religious knowledge. Bukhara was, at that time, the magnet for those Tatars who had an ambition to become Islamic scholars.[4] On his way to that city, Marjanî came across a learned *muazzin* who was deeply influenced by the ideas of the previous Tatar reformer, Qursavî. It is clear from the discussion that developed between them that Marjanî, like many other qadimist *mullah*s of his time, opposed Qursavî's ideas and argued that in certain issues Qursavî deviated from the way of the true Faith (*ahl-i sunna*). However, this dispute exerted an important impact on Marjanî as is clear from Marjanî's own account: "My curiosity about Qursavî became aroused after hearing these ideas from this *muazzin* for the first time."[5]

[1] Sharaf, "Märjanining Tärjümä-i Hâli," 7.
[2] Sa'adî, *Tatar Ädäbiyati Tarikhi*, 67-68.
[3] Sharaf, "Marjanining Tärjümä-i Hâli," 15-19.
[4] Ibid., 30.
[5] Ibid.

After having spent five years in Bukhara, Marjanî set off for the city of Samarkand, the other famous learning center of Central Asia at that time. He settled in the Shirdar Madrasah and found a very learned master, the famous scholar, Qadi Abû Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Haq b. Abû al-Khayr al-Samarqandî (d. 1849), who opened his library to Marjanî, where he read the rare manuscripts which greatly influenced his views.

He found answers to his questions on matters concerning belief (*i'tiqad*), receiving some of his answers from the *qadi*, who was not only a judge, but also an instructor (*mudarris*) in several madrasahs in Samarkand. He also acquired a knowledge of what was going on currently. Marjanî wrote in his famous biography, *The Legacy of the Ancestors*, that the main reason for his interest in history, and the study of history came from the qadi, Abû Sa'id, from whom Marjanî received a teaching diploma (*ijazatnâma*). He also discovered the books of the *mutaqaddimûn*, and came to understand the inadequacy of scholastic theologians such as al-Taftazanî (1322-1389/95) and Fakhr al-Din al-Razî (1149-1209). At the same time he developed a greater appreciation and better understanding of the works of Qursavî.[1]

Up to this point, Marjanî's life story indicated that his diverse ideas did not originate in Tatarstan. Therefore, professor Bennigsen's argument claiming that Tatar reform movement started under the religious and economic suppression of Russia does not prove correct, at least, for the cases of Qursavî and Marjanî. As we have seen from their biographies, they both got their inspiration and ideas of revivalism not in Tatarstan but in Central Asia. Contrary to what has been believed, Bukhara seems not to have been merely a center of obscurantism as later pro-reformist sources claimed. Marjanî got his idea of reforms from that city, perhaps through his personal contact with the scholars and other learned men of the region. It is obvious that Marjanî was a typical qadimist *mullah* when he left Tatarstan for Central Asia.

It was in the libraries of Bukhara and Samarkand that he found classical Islamic works ("the books of *mutaqaddimûn* scholars" or "*salaf* books" as his best biography expressed it) that attracted his attention, inspired him, and had an effect on his mental transformation. Two questions arise at this point: First, what kind of books were the works of these *mutaqaddimûn*? Second, why was Marjanî interested in these works rather than the required, formal madrasah textbooks? This indicates, first of all, that he must have been a brilliant student to have had time to study books outside of the heavy madrasah curriculum. Other than this, there might have been some people who drew his attention to the works of *mutaqaddimûn*.

[1] Ibid., 46-50.

Fortunately, Marjanî's biographer expressed curiosity about what kind of "*salaf* books" caused the evolution in Marjanî's thoughts concerning *i'tiqad* and his choice of direction and purpose for his future. Searching Marjanî's private library after his death, the biographer found books and notes, dated 1843 and 1844 (that Marjanî had copied in Samarkand) from al-Ghazzâlî, Jalal al-Din al-Dawwanî (1427-1501/02), Ibn Sina (980-1037), Ibn Hazm (944-1064), Ibn al-'Arabî, and Suhrawardî (d. 1191).[1]

These findings seem somewhat unexpected. Rather than the works of Traditionalists like Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya with whom Marjanî had parallel ideas with, the works of the great sufîs (Ibn al-'Arabî and Suhrawardî) occupied a significant part of his library.

As to the second question, we discover that some of his teachers knew what was happening in the outside world and recognized the ineffectiveness of the modes of teaching in Bukhara. Some even advocated the ideas of Qursavî, for example, Damullah 'Abd al-Mu'min Khawaja b. Uzbek Khawaja al-Bukharî al-Afshanjî (d. 1866), who approved of Qursavî's explanation of many issues, and had a critical view of the curriculum of the madrasahs of Bukhara. (The content of which will be discussed in the next chapter.) Another of his teachers, Damla Khudaybirdi b. 'Abd Allah al-Baysûnî (d. 1848) was the most traveled and enlightened scholar of Bukhara, having journeyed to India, Mecca, Medina, Istanbul and Russia proper before the czars expanded into Central Asia.[2]

Further evidence supports the theory that Marjanî's Samarkand days were his period of gradual ideological change from being an imitator (*muqallid*), formalist thinker to becoming an original one. This was the method advocated by Qursavî whom Marjanî, like most of the Tatar 'ulamâ', had previously criticized, and Marjanî explained his intellectual transformation when he wrote the life story of Qursavî in his book *Wafayât al-Aslâf*:

> In my youth, because I [Marjanî] had not realized the truth yet, I also imitated others without question, attacked Qursavî and had contempt for his ideas. But later, when I studied the works of the great *imams* (the founders of the four Sunnî schools) the *salaf*, and after many inquiries, I understood the real religion, wisdom, and truth, and, thank God, I saved myself from the wrong path.[3]

Thus it was in his Samarkand days that Marjanî decided to study Qursavî's works. Because he could not find these books in Samarkand, however, the first thing he did when he returned to Bukhara was to search for them, and with great difficulty obtained them from Damla Ismail Qashqarî who warned him that Qursavî's works contained fallacious ideas and were banned in Bukhara.

[1] Ibid., 51-52.
[2] Ibid., 31-34.
[3] Ibid., 57.

Marjanî borrowed Qursavî's works, particularly those on the precepts of faith (*'aqaid*), copied them and gave them back.

Judging from Shahar Sharaf's account and others, unlike Qursavî, Marjanî never rebelled against orthodox conformity in Bukhara. He seems to have been in accord with the 'ulamâ' there. He acted very cautiously, or perhaps he did not have a problem with them. He participated in conversations at private gatherings of friends which were attended by some famous people of Bukhara. Marjanî also met other important men of Bukhara. For example, when he was presented to the *Qadi Kälân* (the Chief Judge, an authority responsible for investigating litigious matters of public concern) he posed a profound question about *i'tiqad* and was honored by the *Qadi Kälân* for his penetration in religious matters.[1]

Marjanî always had some religious issues on his mind. He lived a spare, simple life, was careless of his appearance and slept very little, but was careful about his health. He performed his prayers regularly and often read the Qur'an.[2] His second Bukharan period was one of continual, intense study and thinking, which made him unlike most of the other students of Bukhara, who indulged in opium and taking snuff or gathered to pass time discussing trivialities. In Samarkand, he focused upon the biographies of Muslim scholars.[3]

It is true, after some time he lost his appetite for this traditional education and became dissatisfied with the curriculum of the Bukharan madrasahs. Sources do not pinpoint exactly why Marjanî became dissatisfied.

Despite feeling dissatisfied with the courses, Marjanî continued his study in a madrasah, spending most of his time reading in the famous libraries of Bukhara and in his quarters at the famous Kökäldash Madrasah. During this time he met with Damullah Husayn Qarghali (d. 1858) who greatly influenced him. Qarghali was not a formal *mudarris* at madrasahs, but a free researcher and a learned man, and according to Marjanî, a person "entirely superior to many formal *mudarris*es of Bukhara."[4] He was aware of world events as well as Bukharan affairs and had a good grasp of Islamic history. During his eleven-year stay in Bukhara, Marjanî always kept in touch with Qarghali and benefited much from conversations with him, becoming one of the few privileged to use Qarghali's extensive library of rare manuscripts. Qarghali even helped Marjanî with the methodology in his historical book *Wafayât al-Aslâf*.

After spending eleven years in Central Asia he returned to Tatarstan, to his village, Tashkichü, in a big caravan (21 May 1849) by way of Imamqal'a, Orsk, and Orenburg. Upon his return from Bukhara, known as a promising scholar who had studied in the famous Bukharan madrasahs, he was

[1] Ibid., 65.
[2] Ibid., 75.
[3] Ibid., 67-69.
[4] Ibid., 43.

recommended for the vacant post of *imam* to Ibrahim Bay, the administrator and owner of the madrasah of the mosque of the First Quarter of the city of Kazan. The Assembly of Muslim scholars (*'Ulamâ' Majlisi*) of Kazan accepted him after an examination. He himself wrote that the examination included questions revealing an elementary knowledge of Islam, the low level of which frustrated him.[1] He passed the examination and became the *imam, khatib* and *mudarris* of the mosque, then underwent another exam in Ufa before the *Sobranie*. There, he received his *ukaze,* a document showing that he was permitted to perform the office of an *imam*. The madrasah students of Kazan gained two opposing initial impressions of Marjanî: Some were under the impression that he was a well-educated scholar, while other students saw him as one who merely completed his courses well in Bukhara, and did not socialize with other scholars.[2]

Working as a teacher, Marjanî taught successfully and without problems for five years, until he clashed with the owner and administrator of the madrasah, Ibrahim Bay. At the beginning, Ibrahim Bay was pleased with Marjanî's teaching and helped him financially and in other ways. During that time, Marjanî became financially better off. He bought some good property in the First Quarter and built a dormitory there.

Marjanî's progress is said to have provoked jealousy among the 'ulamâ' of Kazan. They expressed their disagreements with Marjanî on *i'tiqad* and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and with Marjanî's criticism of the system of education in Bukhara. When Marjanî broke with Ibrahim Bay, they had an opportunity to attack him more directly. Because they accused him of conspiracy, his certificate (*ukaze*) was taken away and he was forbidden to teach in the madrasah, in addition to being beset with many problems.[3] At this point, Marjanî even thought of moving to Baghdad. But later the community of the First Quarter gathered and decided to condemn the Ministry of Internal Affairs, because they believed it was unfair to deprive such a scholar of his post simply to please others. The Minister of Police, Shah Ahmad Alkin, was convinced that he should disregard the complaints of the qadimist 'ulamâ' against Marjanî, deeming them based on their bigotry and jealousy. In consequence, Marjanî regained his position after a year (1855), serving in this madrasah for twenty-two years.[4]

In 1864 Marjanî obtained the degree of *akhund* and *muhtasib* from the *Sobranie*. He had gained the favor of certain wealthy Tatars (*bay*s). Thus, in 1871 some esteemed *bay*s of the neighborhood gathered, raised money, and bought buildings to establish a new madrasah and dormitory for him. As a

[1] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 34-36.
[2] Sharaf, "Marjanining Tärjümä-i Hâli," 83.
[3] Ibid., 85.
[4] Ibid., 94-96.

result, students moved from Ibrahim Bay's madrasah to this building and Marjanî was spared the earlier conflicts in Ibrahim Bay's private madrasah. He formed a board comprised of representatives from the community to take care of the madrasah and later received the approval of the *Sobranie* -an unprecedented event.[1] The *bays* of the First and Second Quarters raised money and built a new madrasah, "the Marjanî Madrasah" or "'Âliya Madrasah", which accepted students in September 1881. This modern building became the best madrasah in Kazan at that time, and he taught there for eight years, until his death.[2]

In 1880 Marjanî set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On the way he stopped in Istanbul and met with the Bukharan shaykh, Şeyh Süleyman Efendi (1821/22-1890), Shaykh al-Islam Ahmed Said Efendi and other dignitaries. He met with Foreign Minister Âsım Paşa and with the famous historian, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895) whom he admired greatly. He donated some of his books to the Bayezid (Hamidiye) Library.[3]

Marjanî's biographer reveals another important aspect that distinguishes him from the other Tatar 'ulamâ'. Thus he contacted and established close friendships with some orientalists, and Russian government officers, socializing with Alexandre Kazim Bek (1802-1870), Vasilii Vasil'evich Radlov (1837-1918), Joseph M. E. Gottwaldt and some others, becoming a close friend of Gottwaldt.[4] They exchanged visits and held long discussions.[5] Again because of his enthusiasm for studying history, Marjanî became a member of the Society for Archaeology (*Arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo*) of Kazan University,[6] the first among the Kazan *imams* to do so. He gave a paper to be read in Russian at one of its meetings (Marjanî knew a little Russian). Russian scholars, historians and Orientalists showed great respect for Marjanî.

In particular, he had close contact and friendship with the Orientalist, V. V. Radlov, who was the director of the Russian Tatar Teachers' College. Through Radlov, Marjanî became acquainted with scholars in history, archaeology and ethnology, and he must have been acquainted with Radlov's Tatar linguistic studies.[7]

It is obvious from his correspondence with Husayn Fayzkhanov that he had a strong desire for the position of mufti of the *Sobranie*. He believed that it would help to elevate the situation of Muslims in Russia if the mufti acted

[1] Ibid., 99.
[2] Ibid., 101.
[3] Ibid., 190-92.
[4] Ibid., 174.
[5] Ibid., 187-88.
[6] Ibid., 128.
[7] Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı 1928* (Istanbul: Yeni Matbaa, Türk Ocakları Merkez Heyeti, 1928), 350.

strongly enough to protect their rights.[1] Thus, when mufti 'Abd al-Wahid died, Marjanî wanted to succeed him. The famous missionary, Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii, however, after mentioning the possible candidates for mufti in one of his letters to Pobedonostsev, the head of the Synod in St. Petersburg, characterized Marjanî in an unfavorable light.[2]

The issue came up again when mufti Salim Giray died and some of his supporters encouraged Marjanî to apply for the position. This time, however, Marjanî did not want it. "Now I am old [he was about seventy at that time]... If I were younger, I probably would have made an effort to improve my knowledge of the Russian language... A mufti should know both Islamic knowledge and Russian language."[3] This opinion demonstrates a wish to communicate better with Russians.

Throughout his life he never tired of struggling to wipe out the corrupt elements surrounding Islam which, he believed, hindered Muslims' progress toward modern civilization. Thus, he strove to abolish the absolute authority of the conservative 'ulamâ' over the Muslim mind. Again he held that a new epoch of enlightenment could arise in the Islamic World only when the time of *ijtihad* (free inquiry based on personal conviction) superseded *taqlîd* (unquestioned submission to the religious authorities). He believed in the necessity of breaking down the old mentality of *taqlîd* in order to introduce dynamic new ideas, modern discoveries, and science. Also, he struggled against the attitude of renunciation of the world, fatalism.

Because of his firm, serious and uncompromising character, Marjanî annoyed many people. He was undeterred by that and remained convinced that he was right. He said directly to people what he believed to be true, and persevered in spite of what others thought. "Disregarding other people's feelings, Marjanî severely criticized the books which were well-known and valid in people's opinion, and disapproved of the scholars who were respected by the people. On the other hand, his opponents criticized his character and attitude rather than his ideas. They blamed him for castigating respected people, calling him arrogant, hungry for fame."[4] Even some of Marjanî's sympathizers mildly criticized him: "Marjanî is going too far in his criticism. If he had found a middle ground with the opposing qadimist 'ulamâ' he could have brought many people to his side."[5]

[1] 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ismail b. 'Umar al-Hajitarkhani, "Büyük Üstaz Marjanî Hazräti Haqqïndaghï Khâtïrâtïm," in *Marjanî*, ed. Salih bin Sabit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 498.
[2] Ibid., 499.
[3] Sharaf, "Marjanining Tärjümä-i Hâli," 168.
[4] Ibid., 175-76.
[5] Ibid., 176.

For almost four decades (1850-1889) he put his mark on the Tatar reform movement and became the pattern-setter for later modern tendencies among Tatars. It was he who prepared Tatar society for more radical steps toward modernization. In his time, the move toward Tatar reform became almost synonymous with his name, and Marjanî, spurred on by previous individual scholarly efforts, became the primary organizer of the Tatar reform movement. The significance of his life and his writings on the intellectual history of Tatar society lies in the fact that he gave momentum to public opinion and prepared many Tatar youth for a profound enlightenment.

Rizâ al-Din, who knew and conversed with both Marjanî and al-Afghanî, praised the latter for his intelligence and talent as well as his mastery of rhetoric and insight into the temperament of the people. However, he held Marjanî to be superior to al-Afghanî in depth of knowledge.[1] Although Marjanî was well-rounded and knowledgeable in all aspects of Islamic science, he failed to be as effective as he should have been, and failed to achieve immediate influence due to his proud, harsh, and uncompromising personality.

C. Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din (1855/58-1936)

After Marjanî and Nâsirî, Rizâ al-Din was accepted as the third leading figure of the Tatar renaissance.[2] As a biographer, historian, journalist, pedagogue, religious scholar, and a member of the 'ulamâ', Rizâ al-Din resembled Marjanî, who had the most profound influence on his way of religious thinking, while Gaspirali's *Tärjüman* attracted his attention to worldly affairs. Also, several times in St. Petersburg he met with al-Afghanî who influenced him through his approach to the philosophical meaning of Islam.

Rizâ al-Din was born in 1855 or 1858, in a village called Kichüchatï of the *gubernia* of Samara. Unlike Marjanî, Qursavî or other religious reformers, Rizâ al-Din had never been to Bukhara. He studied in a madrasah at a village called Bügülme and in 1889 or 1890 became a member (*qadi*) of the *Sobranie*. This was the only education he received.[3] He was otherwise a self-educated person.

He was deeply interested in classical Chaghatay literature, and classical and modern Ottoman literature, especially Turkish writers such as Cevdet Paşa, Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1913), Ziya Paşa (1825-1880), and Namik Kemal (1840-1888). He was interested also in classical and modern Arabic literature and had read the Muslim reformist literature of such intellectuals as al-Afghanî, 'Abduh, and Qâsim Amin (1863-1908), as well as Christian Arab writers Jurji

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, "Marjanî," in *Marjanî*, ed. Salih bin Sabit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 393.
[2] A. Battal-Taymas, *Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından I: Rizaeddin Fahreddinoğlu* (Istanbul: N.p. [Sıralar Matbaası], 1958), 7. (Hereafter cited as Battal-Taymas, *Rizaeddin Fahreddinoğlu*).
[3] *Zaman Kalindarï 1909* (Kazan: n.p., 1909), 9.

Zaydan (1861-1914), Farah Antun (1871-1922), and Ya'qub Sarruf (1852-1927).

In 1906, he resigned from the post of *qadi* and moved to Orenburg to begin a new career, as a journalist, becoming a permanent writer for the newspaper *Vaqt*, founded that same year by Shâkir and Zâkir Ramiogullari. In 1908 he began publishing a literary and scholarly journal, *Shûrâ*, becoming its chief editor and main contributor. He helped it to become the most serious, rich, and long lasting of the Tatar journals before the Soviet regime.[1]

It is claimed that Rizâ al-Din had a Naqshbandî connection, being a follower of the last great Naqshbandî Shaykh Zayn Allah Rasulî.[2] However, Rizâ al-Din's firm stand on the rejection of Sufism, and his *salafî* inclination is quite clear in his writings. Intellectually he was partial to the famous Muslim mystic Ibn al-'Arabî's thoughts on reasoning and rejecting adherence to any schools of *kalâm*. In this respect, he did have intellectual discourse with the Shaykh Zayn Allah Rasulî, but this does not necessarily make him a "follower" of the Shaykh.

Rizâ al-Din, like Ismail Gaspirali and Mûsa Bigiyef, accepted pan-Turkism in language, in contrast to Qayyum Nâsirî, who tried to promote the Tatar vernacular in his writings. Rizâ al-Din wrote in a language almost identical with Ottoman Turkish, as did Ismail Gaspirali and Mûsa Bigiyef.

Rizâ al-Din had a relatively milder, more cautious, and more solid foundation in his thought and writing than that of his close friend and another important reformist figure, Mûsa Bigiyef. Therefore, Rizâ al-Din, being a modest person, who tried to avoid hurting other's feelings when criticizing them, received less hostility from the qadimist 'ulamâ'. His very character aroused respect and confidence among the religious and non-religious reformists alike, as well as among some qadimist 'ulamâ'. He became the second reformist to attain the status of mufti, the highest post of Muslim religious leadership. Thus after the death of a former mufti, 'Âlimjan Barûdî, in 1921, Rizâ al-Din became the occupant of the post of mufti, and remained in it until his death in 1936. Under the Soviet regime, he maintained his position and never praised the regime.[3]

His career change from man of religion to a man of politics offers a typical example of how a religious intellectual ceased to be primarily religious. His interest in temporal affairs increased, and he became a journalist (1906-1921) and an active participant in the political movement of the Muslims of Russia,

[1] Ibid., 37.
[2] Algar, "Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev: The Last Naqshbandi Shaykh of the Volga-Urals Region," 127.
[3] Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından III: Âlimcan Barudî* (İstanbul: M. Sıralar Matbaası, 1958), 27-28.

before returning to his original career of religious leadership as chief of the 'ulamâ' (1921-1936). With his successful life story, he achieved the reformist aim of being both a man of religion and a man of the world. His legacy, after a long ban by the Soviet regime, has reappeared in today's Tatarstan Republic within the Russian Federation, and at last he has gained the respect he deserved and desired. As he wrote in 1905: "I am not writing for the people of this century, but for the future generation... Some readers ask me why I didn't mention miraculous events (*kärâmät*) when I wrote biographies of great men... If I had intended to please the people of my generation, I would have written interpretations of dreams, divination of letters, or prayer talismans. I also would have written on the dangers of the new method (*usûl-i jadîd*) schools as the guardian of religion. Or I would not have written at all but just criticized what was written."[1]

Rizâ al-Din was a very prolific author. His writings include biographies of Ibn al-'Arabî, Ibn Taymiyya, al-Ghazzâlî, Abû al-'alâ' al-Ma'arrî, al-Afghanî, the authors of six *hadith* books known as *Kutub-i Sitta* as well as collections of "famous women" (*Mäshhur Khâtunlar*) and "famous men" (*Mäshhur Irlär*). He published the longest-lived (1908-18) and probably best Tatar journal, *Shûrâ*, of the jadidist era. His *Âsar* is the best source for the history of Tatar scholars based on the archives of the *Sobranie*. He also wrote on the religious and administrative structure of the Muslims of Russia and their relationship with the Russian government. Finally, he wrote a large number of pedagogical works on students, women, men, and family.

D. Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef (1875-1949)

A close friend of Rizâ al-Din, belonging to the same school of thought, a member of the 'ulamâ', journalist, politician and prolific writer, Mûsa Bigiyef was one of the major reformists of this period. Bigiyef's attitude toward Sufis, *mutakallimûn*, and contemporary qadimist 'ulamâ' bears a resemblance to Rizâ al-Din's, although they differed completely in temperament.

Bigiyef went extreme in his criticism of past 'ulamâ', criticizing the greatest and most respected figures, such as al-Ghazzâlî, Ibn Rushd (1126-1198), Fakhr al-Din al-Razî, and al-Taftazanî. He passionately clung to every new idea, and, sometimes, he even attracted the criticism of his comrades.[2]

Gaspirali found Bigiyef's introduction of the discussion as to whether God's mercy includes non-Muslims as well as Muslims inappropriate and

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âsar* 2, 5-6.
[2] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Rahmät-i Ilahiyä Bürhanlarï* (Orenburg: Vaqt Matba'asï, 1911), 94-97.

irrelevant, and criticized Bigiyef mildly in his newspaper *Tärjüman*.[1] Another Tatar author judged him to have indulged himself in very ambigious religious questions which were unrelated to real life.[2]

With his arguments on theological issues, he attracted the qadimists' criticism. Thus almost all issues of the qadimists journal *Din vä Ma'ishät* in 1910 have one or more articles against Mûsa Bigiyef, and to a much lesser degree Ziya al-Din Kemâlî and Rizâ al-Din. Some of these are very severe, to the extent of calling Bigiyef "heretic" (*zïndïq*), "non-believer" (*kâfir*) and so on.[3]

Bigiyef performed some important tasks in the cultural-political meetings of the Muslims of Russia (1905-1917) by accurately keeping and later publishing the records of discussions. He knew Russian, Persian, Arabic and Ottoman Turkish and audited classes in the law school of St. Petersburg University (1904). He also studied mathematics and astronomy in Bukharan madrasahs. He was extremely receptive to the natural and mathematical sciences of the West, but he was rather critical of Western social sciences. He believed that the West moved from one extreme to another; in medieval times, Europeans put great emphasis on religious thought, but in the twentieth century, moving to another extreme, they laid extreme stress on the social thoughts with which Mûsa Bigiyef did not completely agree.[4]

Mûsa Bigiyef was born in the city of Rostov-on-Don, in 1875, in a middle-class, scholarly family.[5] His father had worked as a worker on the newly-built railroad of czarist Russia near Rostov-on-Don as well as serving as unofficial *imam*. After the death of his father at an early age, his mother, Fatima Hanim Bigiyeva, an enlightened woman, took care of the family, providing both religious and secular education for Mûsa and his brother Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef, who also became a well-known Tatar literary figure and a reformist. Mûsa Bigiyef studied in a Russian elementary school, then began studying in a technical high school, until, in 1888, his mother sent him to Kazan to study in Göl Boyu Madrasah.[6] Then, he went to Bukhara where he studied privately with several instructors, learning *fiqh* and *hikmat* from reformist teachers Damullah 'Ivaz Efendi and Damullah Ikram Efendi, and mathematics from Damullah Mir Sharif Efendi.[7] After about ten years of study in Kazan and

[1] [Ismail Gaspirali], "Rahmät-i Ilahiyäning Umûmiyäti: Tärjüman Gazätäsi Yazïyor:" *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 3 (January 1910): 57.
[2] Kurat, "Kazan Türklerinin...," 178.
[3] [Ismail Gaspirali], "Rahmät-i Ilahiyäning...," 57.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 70.
[5] Zeki Velidi Togan, "Mûsa Cârullah Begi'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri," *Yeni Selâmet* 5: 37-105 (November, 1949): 5.
[6] Ibid., 5.
[7] Âlimjan İdrisî, "Mûsa Efendi Bigey," *Türk Yurdu* 8: 89 (July 1915): 2698.

Turkistan madrasahs, he went to Istanbul, and then, after spending a short time there, to Cairo. Here, he took private courses from Shaykh Bakhit,[1] a student and follower of the ideas of al-Afghanî, and a close friend of 'Abduh.[2] After about five years of private study, he returned home in 1903 or 1904. In 1905, he started his publishing, journalistic and political activities.

In his early writings, Bigiyef dealt with the question of how the Qur'an was written, such as the early copies of the Qur'an (*Masâhif*),[3] the seven modes of recitations (*al-ahruf al-sab'a*) of the Qur'an, and the issue of abrogation of an earlier verse by one which was revealed later (*naskh*). He considered these subjects as crucial, because some Islamic narrators of traditions and various historians wrote many things that were totally false. These writings, he observed, formed weak doors inviting attacks by the enemies of Islam. Then, he wrote about commentaries of the Qur'an. Bigiyef criticized the interpretations of *mutakallimûn* (the scholastic theologians such as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi or al-Baydawî, who wrote in the spirit of *kalâm*, and he also opposed the interpretations of some *fuqahâ'* (doctors of Islamic law) who wrote in a spirit of sectarianism.

In regard to some issues such as intoxicants, divorce, slavery and religious obligations, Bigiyef opposed the opinions of *mujtahids* and imams of the Sunnî schools in the field of Islamic law. In the field of the methodology of Islamic law, he argued that the formulation of the *shari'a* cannot be restricted merely to the four Sunnî schools. In addition, Bigiyef condemned the opinions of the Muslim scholastic theologians. He believed that the *kalâm* schools had turned the faith of Muslims into childish exercises by their method of disputation, and by deviation into the ways of fanaticism.[4]

Like Qursavî, Marjanî and Rizâ al-Din, Mûsa Bigiyef severely criticized the madrasah curriculum. Disappointed with the ancient books of madrasahs of Russia, he decided to travel to other Muslim lands in the hope of finding different scholars and scholarly works. During his journeys to Turkistan, Istanbul, Mecca, Medina, Syria, India and Egypt, he was disappointed to find the same curriculum and the same method of teaching in these places. Being young and restless, however, he did not fall into despair, but took private courses from experts famous in their fields. More than that, he always sought scholarly works in the libraries of these countries. His efforts were not in vain,

[1] Ibid., 2698.
[2] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, "Mäshhur Adamlar vä Ulugh Hadisälär: Shaykh Jamâl al-Din," 388.
[3] Mûsa Bigiyef's first book was *Tarikh al-Qur'an wa al-Masâhif* (A History of the Qur'an and its Copies), St. Petersburg: Tip.-Lit. I. Boraganskago, 1905.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 41-48.

and he discovered great classics of Arab civilization and satisfied his thirst for knowledge of such works.[1]

Bigiyef took part in almost all of the meetings of the Muslims of Russia, and provided the most accurate record of debates in these meetings, while simultaneously keeping up with his other responsibilities in the political area. Between 1905 and 1907 he wrote in various newspapers, including *Ülfät* and *al-Tirmidh*, the newspapers of his friend 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov, a famous religious reformist, as well as the radical modernist *al-'Asr al-Jadîd* and moderate reformist *Vaqt* (in Tatar).[2] In 1907 he began a project of translating certain Arabic and Persian classics of Muslim heritage into Tatar. In 1908 he audited courses in the School of Law at St. Petersburg University, pondering on the comparison of Islamic and Western laws. Finally, with the encouragement of Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, he wrote a book, *The Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (*Qavâid-i Fiqhiyyä*) and published it in 1910.

In 1910 and 1911 Mûsa Bigiyef was in the city of Orenburg, teaching in the Husayniya Madrasah and writing in Rizâ al-Din's Islamic reformist journal *Shûrâ*. At this time his thinking was much influenced by Sufi thinkers, such as Jalal al-Din Rumî (1207-1273), Abû Qâsim 'Abd al-Karim al-Qushairî (986-1074), and Ibn al-'Arabî, particularly their ideas about the inclusiveness of God's mercy toward all people, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. His lectures at the Orenburg Philanthropic Association (*Orenburg Jäm'iyät-i Khayriyäsi*) and his writings in the *Shûrâ* journal on this issue drew severe criticisms from the qadimist 'ulamâ', because of which he resigned from the school and left Orenburg city.[3]

His works exerted influence beyond the Russian empire, for example in Istanbul. Indeed, based on the complaints of the shaykh al-Islam's office (*Bâb-ı Meşîhat*), the Ministry of Domestic Affairs banned his four books, saying that they spread dangerous and heretical ideas (*küfriyâtı muhtevî*).[4] However, this action served to attract more attention to Bigiyef's books, particularly on the part of the students. Because of this action of censorship, Bigiyef wrote a severe criticism of Ottoman shaykh al-Islams in the Tatar newspaper *Vaqt*.[5]

A conservative Turkish scholar Mustafa Sabri Efendi (1869-1954) criticized Bigiyef in his book *Yeni İslam Müctehidlerinin Kıymet-i İlmiyyesi* (1919). Sabri believed that Bigiyef exerted a profound influence on the Muslims of Russia by his publications refuting *fuqahâ'*, *mufassirs* and especially *kalâm*

[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä*, 5.
[2] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 177.
[3] İdrisî, "Mûsa Efendi Bigey," 2696-703.
[4] "Haber: Dâire-i Meşihatde," *Tanin* 1563 (March, 1329/1913): 2, 6.
[5] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, "Teessüf Etmiştim Şimdi Anladım," *İslam Dünyası* 1: 10 (July 1329/1913): 149-55.

scholars and gained the title of "the Luther of Islam."[1] Sabri's main purpose was to defend *kalâm* scholars. He claimed that *kalâm* had served to protect the Faith of Muslims since Islam came into contact with philosophy, more than a thousand years ago. However, this religious reformer, Bigiyef, Sabri said, wanted to destroy *kalâm* completely and raised suspicions about religious sources such as *tafsir* and *fiqh*.[2]

Sabri distinguished Bigiyef from other reformers, that is, those who borrowed their ideas from Western sources and were ignorant of religious issues. He considered Bigiyef qualified to discuss religious matters.[3] Sabri believed that Bigiyef had been influenced by the European idea of freedom of conscience (*hürriyet-i vicdaniye*) when he approved of every faith and not insulting anybody because of his belief.[4] Sabri claimed that Bigiyef could not save himself from this contagious disease that surrounded many Muslim thinkers: European progress produced a psychological destruction in the minds of intellectuals.[5] According to Sabri, the reasons for Muslim decline lay in their being diverted from the way of Islam and not acting in according with Islam's requirements. Muslims suffer as a result.[6]

From all of these discussions it is possible to judge that the religious reformists' new approach and interpretation of Islam caused an intellectual ferment and controversy among the Tatar 'ulamâ. They introduced a habit of doubt and the exercise of private judgment and disseminated relatively liberal ideas and intellectual skepticism among the Tatar youth.

[1] Mustafa Sabri, *Yeni İslam Müctehidlerinin Kıymet-i İlmiyyesi: Kazanlı Mûsa Bigiyef Efendinin Rahmet-i İlahiye Bürhanları Nâmındaki Eseri Hakkında İntikadâtı Hâvîdir* (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1919), 7.
[2] Ibid., 7.
[3] Ibid., 71.
[4] Ibid., 85.
[5] Ibid., 108.
[6] Ibid., 109. "Müslümanların sükût ve inhitâtını, en âli ve en mükemmel bir dine vâris oldukları halde muktezâsınca hareket etmemek veyahud o şehrâh-ı hidâyetden öte-beriye sapmak sûretiyle kadrini bilmemelerinin cezasına atfedemez misiniz?"

Chapter III

REFORMING THE RELIGIOUS FAITH

> There was a need for a person who would say "let there be salvation!" and awaken the Muslim world which was deprived of all aspects of political, economic, scientific, and civic life. Although religious *mujaddid*s such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim appeared, their ideas fell on deaf ears and their views had no effect. There was an urgent need for a Muslim "Luther" in order to save the Muslim world, but whatever the reason was, no such person appeared until... the "Muslim Luther", *mujaddid* Marjanî, appeared among the northern Muslims, at the end of the thirteenth century [of the Muslim calendar].[1]
>
> Hâdî Atlasî (1915)

This quotation reflects a common belief among Muslims that the best time for Muslims in terms of belief and deeds was the time of the Prophet and his close successor caliphs. From then on, Muslims would deviate from the Prophet's way, but in each century there would arise a reformer (*mujaddid*) to renew the Islamic faith.[2]

As seen in the citation, such a great renewer, Marjanî, appeared among the Tatars in the mid-nineteenth century and initiated a movement to purify the Islamic faith of all later distortions. Because of the special geographical and cultural boundaries within which Tatars resided, that is between East and West, despite reformists' purificatory tendency, this movement took a different shape from Arabian Wahhâbism. In addition, the existence of a strong Sufi tradition among the Tatars and a gradual penetration of Western ideas through Russian channels played a determining role in the formation of a reconciliatory type of reformism.

Those who developed this conciliatory ideology were educated in traditional madrasahs but also became somewhat acquainted with Western ideas. This superficial contact caused them to develop a feeling of admiration for Western institutions and science while increasing their dissatisfaction with the traditional Muslim education. The rigid stand of the conservative 'ulamâ' hardly offered

[1] Hâdî Atlasî, "Shihâb Hazrät Kim Idi?" in *Marjanî*, ed. Salih b. Sabit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asî, 1915), 459-61.
[2] Marshal G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, 454.

this young generation a satisfactory answer. Therefore, only a synthesizing ideology -which would modernize Tatar society while retaining an Islamic identity- found an enthusiastic response from educated Tatars.

The unsystematic, and at times, inconsistent nature of this ideology does not necessarily show its inefficiency as some authors claimed. Professor Chobanzâde claimed that the Tatar religious reformers such as Marjanî and Bigiyef did not introduce anything original. He said that like the European clerics, Tatar reformists made peace with the inevitable pervasiveness of the Western innovations and that their efforts were limited to religious justification of these modern innovations that Tatar people had already adopted, and that, therefore, they had no impact on Tatar society.[1] A Bashkort historian (Togan) characterized the ideology of these reformers as backward-looking and found their efforts "useless." In contrast to these judgments, this study argues that the ideology of reconciliation was a critical factor in the transformation of the Tatar society toward modernity.

1. A Purified Faith: Motivation for Progress

At the turn of the century, more and more young Tatars were profoundly concerned with the causes of Muslim decline and sought remedies for it. They asked the following question over and over:

> Why is there such a big gap between the Muslim world and Europe? How is it that European nations have succeeded in dominating nature and other nations by means of science, technology and education while the Muslim world remained stuck in inertia and somnolence? What could explain the dynamism of the one, and the inertia of the other?[2]

Some jadidists such as Rizâ al-Din, Bigiyef, and Atlasî had already found an answer to this question: it was the Reformation, that is, purity in faith, that opened the way for European progress.

How did jadidists come up with this answer? It is known that before Bigiyef and Hadî Atlasî (1875-1940?), al-Afghanî praised the Protestant Reformation and claimed that Islam also needed a Luther.[3] Al-Afghanî referred to Martin Luther (1483-1546) and said:

> If we consider the reason for the transformation in the condition of Europe from barbarism to civilization we see it was only the religious reform movement raised and spread by Luther. This great man, when he saw that the peoples of Europe had declined and lost their vigor due to the long period that they had submitted to the heads of the church and to a [religious] imitation not based on clear reason, started that religious movement.[1]

[1] Chobanzâde, *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqïlab*, 55-56.
[2] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 33.
[3] Hourani, 122.

Keddie suggests that the French historian F. P. G. Guizot's (1787-1874) writings attracted al-Afghanî's interest in reasoning and social solidarity as a source of progress and civilization, also emphasizing the Protestant movement as a decisive break leading Europe toward material progress and reform. Muhammad 'Abduh used Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (Paris, 1838) along with Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima* as textbooks when he gave lectures. It seems, as discussed, that the problem of the rise and fall of civilizations in these works attracted the reformists the most.[2]

Keddie also claims that al-Afghanî saw himself as something of an Islamic Luther, and was moved by the conviction that religious reform was the only way to introduce material reform and self-strengthening into the Islamic world.

Various Tatar reformists, such as Bigiyef, Atlasî and Kashshâf Tarjumanî admired the sixteenth-century Reformation movement. They all saw Marjanî as the major reformer comparable to Martin Luther, whom they perceived as the model for a savior. In Luther's personality they saw a remedy-giving characteristic. For example, Mûsa Bigiyef believed that this "great *mujaddid* (renewer)" (Luther), freed the mind from the bondage of the clergy by breaking their unquestionable authority in the Catholic Church. He, and some other reformers, believed that in restating Christianity Luther returned it to its original foundation (a kind of *tajdîd* within Christianity), and believed that this ideological purity led Europe toward progress.

Keeping this model in mind, the jadidist 'ulamâ' reevaluated their Muslim heritage and sought the similarities in Islamic history. For example, Hâdî Atlasî found Muslim equivalents of the Catholic Church, popes and sources of corruption in the faith:

> Just the real foundations of Christianity were distorted by the Catholic Church and its spiritual chiefs, in the same way our Islamic religion lost its purity by the narrow-minded 'ulamâ', *fuqahâ'* [experts in the canon law of Islam] and *mutakallimûn* [scholastic theologians]. As the Catholic Church was governed arbitrarily by "infallible" popes who were considered as the representative of Jesus, in the same way Muslim clergy ruled Islam in a manner contrary to its own essence. Living idols appeared in our Islamic world, who put Muslims under their authority. Nobody had a right to say "yes" or "no" to these idols. The insanity of these people claimed inspiration through dreams, also nonsense edicts of *mutakallimûn* and *fuqahâ'* became "religion" *per se*. There is no doubt

[1] Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamâl ad-Dîn "al-Afghânî": A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 392.
[2] Hourani, 132.

that this "religion" caused the destruction of the Islamic state, government and might."[1]

Atlasî was not alone in this claim. Bigiyef also sought and saw a parallel between medieval Western Europe and the Islamic world, with a difference that in the sixteen century Europe freed itself while at the turn of the century Muslims were still living in medieval times. Bigiyef charged the sixteenth-century Ottoman Shaykh al-Islams Ibn Kemâl (1468/69-1534) and Ebussu'ûd Efendi (1490-1574)[2] with acting and functioning in a similar manner as the clergy of Europe in the sense that they imprisoned people's minds.

Contrary to Bigiyef's claim, shaykh al-Islam Ebussu'ûd Efendi seems to be a tolerant person. He fought against the "narrow-minded" *fuqahâ'*. He respected and tolerated people's ancient beliefs and habits (*örf ve adetler*) unless they conflicted with the principles of *shari'a*. He has a well-known religious edict protecting the poems (*Dîvan*) of the Persian poet Hafiz against the attacks of religious fanatics.[3] Bigiyef's rejection of the Ottoman shaykh al-Islams is at least partly to be explained on personal grounds: Upon the request of the shaykh al-Islam's office (*Dâire-i Meşîhat*), Bigiyef's four books were forbidden in the Ottoman Empire.

Reformers like Atlasî and Bigiyef found almost every equivalent of European concepts in Islamic thought. In addition to their comparing Marjanî with Luther and the Tatar reform movement with the sixteenth-century German Reformation; They equated the European concept of "reform" with "*tajdîd*"; the Catholic Church with the authority of four Muslim orthodox schools (*madhabs*); "the bondage of Church authority" with "the doctrine of *taqlîd*"; and finally, these reformers matched freedom in thinking with *ijtihad*. Following their imagined Protestant Reformation model, The reformers attempted to create a similar reformation in Islam. Therefore, they saw an urgent need to free the minds of Muslims from the bondage of the so-called Muslim clergy and the doctrine of *taqlîd* (the necessity of following the precepts of any of the four Sunnî schools).

2. Opening the Gate of Free Inquiry: *Ijtihad* vs. *Taqlîd*

Jadidists regarded the doctrine of *taqlîd* as a kind of heretical innovation and the biggest obstacle in Muslims' way to progress.[4] According to Rizâ al-Din,

[1] Atlasî, "Shihâb Hazrät Kim Idi?," 459-61.

[2] Ebussu'ûd Efendi was the greatest Ottoman shaykh al-Islam and the famous commentator of the Qur'an (*mufassir*) and *fuqahâ'*. He was also a close friend of Ottoman Sultan Kanunî (Sulayman the Magnificent to Westerners). He was not very frienly with the sufi orders, and at times he even opposed them.

[3] *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Ebüssu'ud Efendi."

[4] 'Abd Allah Bubî, *Zamân-î Ijtihad Munqariz mi, Dägil mi?* (Kazan: Millät Kütübkhanäsi, 1909), 3-4.

during the Prophet's lifetime and early generations there was no need for any school. Until the tenth century, Muslims knew nothing of *taqlîd*. People followed the way of the Prophet and learned these teachings from their parents or teachers. If they had a question or experienced difficulty in understanding something, they consulted with a religious scholar and then practiced according to his interpretation. Scholars also practiced according to the Tradition, and if they had difficulties they resorted to the interpretations of the more authoritative scholars.[1]

Another reformer, 'Abd Allah Bubî, claimed that it was after the second Islamic century that differences occurred among the Muslim scholars; consequently scholarly *fiqh* developed, and the famous four schools (Hanafî, Hanbalî, Shâfi'î, and Mâlikî) came into being, respectively, ascribed to their founders, Abû Hanifah (699-767), Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855), Malik b. Anas (715-795), and al-Shâfi'î (767-820). The founders of these four schools denied blind imitation (*taqlîd*), including imitating themselves.[2] The necessity of adherence to one of these schools, in the course of time, developed into a doctrine that the gate of *ijtihad* had closed.[3] However, a recent study asserts that a Sunnî consensus was not accepted by all Muslim scholars.[4]

*Salafî*s such as Ibn Taymiyya and Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb never accepted that the gate of *ijtihad* was closed and have always denied *taqlîd* and claimed the right of free inquiry (*ijtihad*). The modern *salafî*s 'Abduh and al-Afghanî also insist on the same argument and claimed that "all men can interpret the Qur'an, provided they have a sufficient knowledge of Arabic, are of sound mind and apply the Qur'anic principles to the new problems of their time."[5]

It seems that Tatar reformers had doctrinal conflict with the Sunnî Schools. This idea can be followed in the writings of Mûsa Bigiyef, who accepted "the *salaf* path" as the real orthodox way, not the so-called four Sunnî schools. In order to base Islamic principles on puritanist and rationalist bases jadidists fought against the established Schools. They opposed especially the Ash'arî theological school.[6] believing that it deviated from the way of *salaf* and was

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Manâsïb-ï Dîniyä* (Orenburg: Karimof, Hüsayinof vä Shüräkâsïnïng Paravay Matba'asï, n.d.), 54.

[2] Bubî, *Zamân-ï Ijtihad...*, 11.

[3] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* 2, 406.

[4] Wael B. Hallaq, "On the Authoritativeness of Sunni Consensus," *International Journal of the Middle Eastern Studies* 18: 4 (1986): 427-54.

[5] Hourani, 127.

[6] Ash'ariyya (or Asharite), a Muslim theological school, named for the followers of Abû al-Hasan al-Ash'arî (873-935), became the dominant school during the 'Abbasid caliphate, and allied itself with the legal school of al-Shafi'î. The Ash'arî school was persecuted under the Buwayhids around the mid-eleventh century, but gained official support under the Saljuqs, then became almost identical with orthodoxy up to the present time. The important members of the Ash'ariyya are: al-Baqillanî (d. 1013), al-Juwaynî, Imam al-Haramayn (d.

polluted with foreign (Greek) thought.[1] However, the reformers fought in an indirect manner, probably in order not to raise the hostility of the qadimist 'ulamâ' and populace. When they attacked the schools, they also expressed their appreciation of the value of the writings of the founders of the Sunnî schools.[2] According to Bigiyef, these founders were always in favor of *ijtihad* and did not intend to establish these schools.

Some of the jadidists themselves already represented a divorce from attachment to any Sunnî school. One such, for example, Rizâ al-Din, even though he was born into a Hanafî family (Tatars belong to the Hanafî school) felt no necessity to follow this school. He said: "So far, although I have read many biographies of the founders of the schools of law and their books concerning their way of approach, I could not prefer one to another."[3] In other word, he was no longer a Hanafî. They saw themselves beyond and above these schools. Bigiyef, therefore, even proposed a common belief (*'aqîdah*) book for all Muslims of the world.[4] He wanted to eliminate the differences that he claimed had emerged from the codification of *kalâm* imams, and caused a thousand years of bitter experience for Muslims. Thus, he advocated gathering all the different schools into one faith by a sort of Islamic ecumenism aimed at unifying the four Sunnî schools and also Shi'ah.[5] Indeed, practically it meant the elimination of all schools. Only after this could reformers base the *shari'a* on the principles of rational inquiry.[6]

On every occasion Tatar reformers asserted that the incompatibility of Islam with modern ideas and values was due to the doctrine of *taqlîd*. Rizâ al-Din argued that the social, economic and national life of future Muslims was dependent on the opening of the gate of *ijtihad*. Bigiyef emphasized the importance of reason and reasoning over and over. In opposition to the qadimist's outlook, reformists insistently claimed that the gate of *ijtihad* was still open. Those skilled in the Islamic sciences had the right and indeed the responsibility to consult original sources and every Muslim might find his own answers about the religion by his own reasoning. They even claimed that it is forbidden (*harâm*) for Muslims to obey the earlier 'ulamâ' blindly.

Practically, the schools constituted the biggest obstacle for the reformist 'ulamâ' when they wanted to bring solutions to any emerging problems. During the early years of Islam, when a religious problem or conflict arose, a Muslim

1085/86), al-Ghazzalî, Fakhr al-Din al-Razî, al-Ijî (d. 1355) and Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjanî (1340-1394). *The Encyclopedia of Islam,* New ed., s.v. "Ash'ariyya."

[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *al-Luzumiyyat*, 82.

[2] The four famous Sunnî schools are Hanafî, Shafi'î, Hanbalî and Malikî.

[3] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Manâsïb-ï Dîniyä*, 55.

[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 49-63.

[5] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Büyük Mävzûlarda Ufaq Fikirlär*, 99.

[6] Ibid., 29-31.

religious scholar had to refer to or follow (*taqlîd*) a certain school and search for similar problems and solutions within the boundary of that school. However, most of the time, the rules and opinions of the scholars of any school differ and conflict on certain issues. This causes great difficulty for the inquirer (*mujtahid*) and sometimes makes it impossible to come up with any solution. Thus, Rizâ al-Din argued that "the four Sunnî schools invented riddles and puzzles, thereby rendering unintelligible the religion which during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (*'asr-ï sa'adät*) had been pure and simple."[1]

Reformers' rejection of attachment to a school is at least partly to be explained by this scholarly difficulty. Thus, they advocated going directly to the primary source, the Qur'an, and interpreting it by reasoning and referring to the other sources when needed. This idea resembles Luther's rejection of Church authority in order to locate authority in the Bible. In a similar way, reformist 'ulamâ' denied the authority of the four Sunnî schools to locate authority in the Qur'an.

The reformers' insistence on *ijtihad* is understandable. Particularly in the late nineteenth century, there were urgent problems for Muslims to be solved. The emerging needs of modern life sometimes conflicted with the religious rules. However, contemporary *fuqahâ'*, Bigiyef claimed, occupied themselves with trivial and medieval matters such as the place of polytheists on the Day of Doom, timing of the "middle prayer" and so on.[2] They also sought proofs and issued religious edicts for the justification of new needs and innovations: Is it legitimate to learn foreign languages? Is it legitimate to teach writing to women? Is it legitimate to travel by ship? And so on.[3]

Naturally, reformers found these questions amusing and absurd. A reformist *'âlim*, 'Abd Allah Bubî, responded to one such question concerning whether preaching in the Tatar language in mosques is all right. He said "any person who is aware that the Qur'an encourages thinking and reasoning would not dare to ask this question."[4] He went on to say that the famous Muslim scholar Abû Hanifah approved the giving of the Friday homily (*khutbä*) in languages other than Arabic. But even at that time Abû Hanifah's permission caused controversies, for example, Imam Abû Yusuf and Imam Muhammad protested the edict.[5] Bubî concluded by saying:

> During the Prophet's time and that of the first four Caliphs, prayer leaders gave the *khutbä* in Arabic because they addressed people who

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Abû al-'alâ' al-Ma'arrî*, 53.

[2] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä*, 36.

[3] Ibid., 14.

[4] 'Abd Allah Bubî, *Tatarcha Khutba Oqu Dürüst mü?* (Kazan: Örnäk Matba'asï, 1908), 3.

[5] Ibid., 7.

knew Arabic, not the Tatars. Had they been addressing the Tatars they would have given their *khutbä* in the Tatar language.[1]

Seeing the incapability of their contemporary qadimist *fuqahâ'* to face the burning modern problems, reformist 'ulamâ' wanted to take responsibility into their hands. One such problem was the Qur'anic ban on interest-taking in financial transactions. In such a case, the religious scholars like Bigiyef were eager to provide urgent solutions. Also, by solving this kind of problem they wanted to prove Islam's compatibility with modern thought.[2]

A close look at Bigiyef's process of reasoning to solve this problem will give us a perspective of how a reformist *'âlim* conducted *ijtihad*. The issue of usury had been a controversial issue since the early period of Islam. There were always some differences among Muslim scholars regarding the exact kind of transactions Islam banned. However, the expansion of the banking system in Muslim countries confronted Muslims more intensively with the question of interest (*ribâ*) both in banking and outside.

Contemporary Muslim experts (*fuqahâ'*), Bigiyef claimed, proved their inadequacy to find a solution to this economic problem. Some of them, rather wrongly, strictly forbade almost every kind of interest while others legalized interest-giving through legal tricks (*hilä-i shar'iyä*) with no middle ground between these two approaches.[3] These restrictions aroused the suspicion and discomfort of Muslims toward adopting a modern banking economy, and consequently contributed to the economic backwardness of Muslims.

This confusion threw Muslims into a dilemma: From a religious standpoint, they felt obliged to conform with the strict rules of the *fuqahâ'* and avoid dealing with money in ways that could incur economic loss. Considering the realities of life, however, they had to involve themselves in modern economic transactions but felt guilty about what they did. This dilemma applied not only to individuals but to Muslim states as well, the modern world system not allowing them to act with economic independence. In their commercial relationships, Muslim states were compelled to conform to the often un-Islamic economic rules of the modern world.

Bigiyef blamed narrow-minded *fuqahâ'* for the economic backwardness of Muslims, believing that they missed the point of Islam's prohibition of usury. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the debtor had to pay a certain interest on his debt within a certain time. If he was unable to pay on time, he was allowed additional time, but the amount due was doubled. It was this form of usury, Bigiyef believed, that the Qur'an banned.

[1] Ibid., 17.
[2] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Zäkât* (St. Petersburg: Muhammad 'Alîm Maqsudof Matba'asï, 1916), 12.
[3] Ibid., 90.

Bigiyef went on to state that the basic reason for the Islamic ban on usury aimed at eliminating this element of unjust enforcement (*zulm*). This is why the Qur'an forbids exploitation of people who fall into difficult situations and regards usury as an abuse of that type. Again, according to Bigiyef, in the early centuries of Islam, Muslim scholars understood the banned form of interest to be the interest on money or property given out as a loan. But in later centuries, other kinds of transactions were also included in the definition. This was obviously an unnecessary and extremist measure.[1]

In his solution, Bigiyef distinguished the loan of consumption (*istihlak*) and the loan of production (*istihsal*). The first type involves giving help, and in this case receiving interest (*ribâ*) is forbidden. The second kind of debt is based on trade and acquisition and it is legal (*mäshrû'*) to receive a share from the benefit. Bigiyef, furthermore, proposed that transactions in banks, if slightly altered, could fit the definition of the second kind of loan.[2] Finally, he suggested that if Muslims collected all required alms (*zäkât*) and established public treasuries (*bäytülmals*) or Islamic banks, they would accumulate capital for both philanthropic and commercial purposes. In this way, it would be possible to protect individuals needing loans from the burden of interest.

3. Reconciling Traditionalism with Sufism

After this survey of the Islamicized version of Protestant Reformism and its application to the reformist way of thinking, this study will now turn attention to the most striking fact about jadidist eclecticism, that is their compromising tendency toward Sufism. Their puritanist view of Islam and their heavy dependence on the sufî thinkers seems conflicting. On the one hand Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din seem very sensitive toward foreign influences on Islam, and praise Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and even the Wahhâbîs. On the other hand the same jadidists praised and were influenced by the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabî and al-Ma'arrî.

Almost all major Tatar jadidists had a milder and more favorable attitude toward Sufism. As we have seen previously, Qursavî and Marjanî had Sufi contacts and tendencies. Bigiyef showed an ambiguous attitude toward Sufism. It is true that Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din and Bigiyef attacked ignorant Sufis and saint-worship and believed that ignorant Sufis kept Muslims away from the light of reason. They also recognized that in recent times Sufism had become a source of gain for charlatans and a refuge for lazy people. However, Marjanî and Bigiyef regarded early Sufism as a very great school. Marjanî, thus, did not oppose true Sufism but was opposed to deviations from "correct" or more *shari'a*-oriented Sufism.

[1] Ibid., 88.
[2] Ibid., 18-19.

Rizâ al-Din took a more radical stand on this point, differing from Marjanî and Bigiyef, and he believed that Sufism was one of the paths of heretical innovation [the other being the path of *kalâm*].[1] He condemned the visiting of tombs and saint worship,[2] and had no belief in miracles except the ones recorded in the Qur'an, or those compatible with the spirit of the Qur'an.[3] He also claimed that many Muslims who occupied themselves with Sufism neglected the Qur'an and Tradition.

Middle Eastern reformers showed differences in their approach toward Sufism and certain Sufis. Al-Afghanî had a tendency for mysticism in his thought.[4] 'Abduh himself studied mysticism in his youth[5] and had great respect for "true" Sufism (the *shari'a* oriented Sufism) but attacked the "diverted" type of Sufism (the type that diverted attention from God by giving its devotion to the saints").[6] However, 'Abduh regarded Ibn al-'Arabî as a diverted type of Sufi and even refused to allow the publication of Ibn al-'Arabî's *al-Futûhat al-Makkiya* when he was supervising the publication of Arabic classics.[7]

In contrast to 'Abduh's rejection, the Tatar reformers admired the greatest mystic of Islam, Ibn al-'Arabî, among other Sufis. Here a question arises: why did the Tatar reformers, in contrast to the contemporary Arabian Wahhâbîs, never seek to eliminate Sufism, but rather to integrate it into the Orthodox life?

The answer to this question seems to lie in the personal contacts of the reformist 'ulamâ' with the reformist Naqshbandiyya dominant in India, Central Asia, and the Volga Region. The precursor reformist Qursavî had a Naqshbandî connection and when in Bukhara, attended the lectures of Niyazquli al-Turkmanî (or *Ishan-ï Turkmanî*).[8]

Marjanî but had great respect for the great mystics.[9] In his works he talked about Sufism and Sufis with great admiration and also mentioned that he studied many of the luminaries of the Sufi way. He counted Sufism (*tasawwuf*) as a branch of the Islamic sciences (*'ulûm-i shari'a)* and believed that the way of Sufis is superior to the way of *mutakallimûn* and *fuqahâ'*.[10]

Marjanî's biographer reports that during his first Bukharan period Marjanî had occupied himself with spiritual training and Sufism. First he attached

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Ibn Taymiyya*, 38.
[2] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Ibn 'Arabî*, 15.
[3] Ibid., 28.
[4] Hourani, 124.
[5] Ibid., 132.
[6] Ibid, 149-50.
[7] Ibid, 150.
[8] Tahir, "Abunnasir Kursavi 1776-1812," 155.
[9] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Ibn 'Arabî*, 125-26.
[10] Tahir Ilyas, "Marjanîning Fiqh Dairäsindä Hizmätläri," in *Marjanî,* ed. Salih b. Sabit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 285.

himself to the son of Ishan Niyazquli al-Turkmanî, and later to Shaykh 'Abd Allah Hazrat (d. 1852). This *shaykh* was a *mudarris* and administrator of the al-Turkmanî madrasah and was involved in a Sufi order. In his second Bukharan period, Marjanî became a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir b. Niyaz Ahmad al-Faruqî al-Hindî (d. 1855). He often attended the meetings of this shaykh and later received from him an *'ijazatnâmä* and *hatt-ï irshâd* (certificates that he had trained his spirit and was permitted to train others).[1]

However, his attachment (*intisab*) to a *shaykh* does not seem like complete devotion in the customary meaning, but rather a showing of respect to an elderly and pious person in order to benefit from his thoughts and experiences. Thus, even though he praised the luminaries of the mystic way in his meetings, Marjanî did not suggest that his students submit to a *shaykh*. Rather, he suggested that they read the Qur'an and try to understand its meaning. Once, a student came to him and expressed the wish to join a Sufi order, requesting Marjanî's advice on a perfect guide (*mürshid-i kâmil*). Marjanî replied:

> The best guide (*mürshid*) is the Qur'an. Every day read at least a part of the Qur'an and try to understand its meaning as best as you can. If you want to go further, read a trustworthy commentary. This guide is enough for you.[2]

It is clear from the biographer's account that Marjanî was not against Sufism and did not oppose his students' attachment to the *shaykh*s. Many of his students did occupy themselves with Sufism, and some even trained disciples (*murid*s).[3] Marjanî himself never gathered disciples in the mystic sense and never asked them to recite certain words or portions of scripture at stated times, as was the practice of his contemporary *Ishan*s (heads of religious orders).

Almost all Tatar reformers took considerable interest in Ibn al-'Arabî's thought: Shaykh Zayn Allah Rasulî, Muhammad Najib Tontarî, Mûsa Bigiyef, and Hadi Atlasî became interested also in Ibn al-'Arabî's ideas.[4] It is interesting to know why and how the Tatar reformers became interested in Ibn al-'Arabî's thought.

The reason for the reformers' interest in Ibn al-Arabî seems that they found in Ibn al-'Arabî the ideological support they wanted. They were especially interested in Ibn al-'Arabî's rejection of *taqlîd*, condemnation of *mutakallimûn* and *fuqahâ'*, advocacy of freeing the mind, and reasoning in understanding religious matters (*ijtihad*). They tended to be indifferent or apologetic in their attitude regarding Ibn al-'Arabî's ideas on pantheism (*wahdat al-wujûd*) or "outdated" theological discussions.

[1] Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," 71.
[2] Ibid., 73.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Fakhr al-Din, *Ibn 'Arabî*, 127-29.

Shaykh Zayn Allah Rasulî, the Naqshbandî shaykh who was residing in the city of Troitsk, was the chief promoter of Ibn al-'Arabî's ideas. According to his own account, Rizâ al-Din discussed some of the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabî with him. Rizâ al-Din also had an intellectual discourse with Mûsa Bigiyef and 'Âlimjan Barudî on some of these issues. According to Rizâ al-Din's account, Bigiyef aroused Rizâ al-Din's interest in Ibn al-'Arabî's *Futûhat*.[1]

Rizâ al-Din also attempted to make an objective evaluation of the famous Sufi Ibn al-'Arabî. Was he a heretic, shaykh of unbelief or a saint? In an attempt to answer such questions, Rizâ al-Din preferred to study Ibn al-'Arabî's own works rather than the sources written by Ibn al-'Arabî's opponents or proponents.[2] These showed him that Ibn al-'Arabî did not imitate the *kalâm* Schools, but gained his belief system (*'aqîdah*) directly from the Qur'an and Tradition, and did not bind himself to any Sunnî schools.[3] Further, Ibn al-'Arabî defended a kind of Sufism compatible with the spirit of the Qur'an.[4]

The most controversial issue about Ibn al-'Arabî was his pantheism (*wahdat al-wujûd*). Rizâ al-Din cautiously argued that Ibn al-'Arabî's view of pantheism was probably not incompatible with the *shari'a*, because Ibn al-'Arabî greatly respected the Qur'an and Tradition and accepted *shari'a* as a guidance in his belief.[5] Rizâ al-Din believed that Ibn al-'Arabî was a non-conformist, but his ideas were compatible with Islam.

Nevertheless, Rizâ al-Din disapproved of Ibn al-'Arabî's excessive speculation on questions such as the nature of miracles, the Savior (*Mähdi*), the Rescuer (*Hïzïr*), the chief of God's saints upon earth (*qutb*), dream (*rüyâ*), revelation of mysteries to a saint (*käshf*), and pantheism (*wahdat al-wujûd*).[6] He believed that if such a great scholar had devoted himself entirely to the study of the Qur'an and Tradition, he would have served Muslims better.

Among the reformists Bigiyef had perhaps the deepest interest in Sufism and the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabî. He argued that Sufism, in its origin was a valid path. Today, however, it had become instead a refuge for lazy people. The Sufi orders, he said, gave good service in the early period of Islam and served as teaching institutions (madrasahs). True Sufism was a way of revelation particular to Islam, the revelation itself being a kind of rationalist view (*nazar-ï aqlî*) or a way of penetration of reason beyond metaphysical walls. It is only attainable, however, through the heart when reason frees itself of its bonds and acquires penetrating force.

[1] Ibid., 67-69.
[2] Ibid., 120-21.
[3] Ibid., 44-45.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 102-103.
[6] Ibid., 121-22.

Under the influence of Ibn al-'Arabî, Bigiyef wrote a book called *Rahmät-i Ilahiyä Bürhanlarï* and, like Ibn al-'Arabî, he proclaimed the all-inclusiveness of God's mercy: He held that God shows mercy toward Muslims as well as non-Muslims. His mercy embraces even the people of Hell.[1] Because of this idea, Bigiyef's book aroused a storm among the conservative Tatars. In a short time, qadimists published a series of articles to such an extent that throughout the whole year of 1910 a major qadimist journal, *Din vä Ma'ishät*, devoted at least half if its space to refuting and criticizing Bigiyef's ideas.

A qadimist author claimed that Bigiyef's theory about God's mercy was even contradictory to the beliefs of 'Abduh, al-Afghanî, Ahmed Midhat, Mahmud Esad, Isma'il Haqqi, and Muhammad Farid Wajdi.[2] The 'ulamâ' of Orenburg and Mullah Sadïq al-'Uthmanî wrote extensively against Bigiyef's ideas and never tired of attacking Bigiyef on every issue.[3]

Bigiyef even attracted criticism abroad, from Turkey by the conservative writer Mustafa Sabri Efendi, who found many contradictions in Bigiyef's book and even called it nonsense (*deli saçmaları*)."[4] One of these contradictions was that Bigiyef had complete confidence in Ibn al-'Arabî's books *Fusûs* and *Al-Futûhat*, yet stated that he distrusted any source except the Qur'an and the *hadith*.[5] While Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and modern writers who -like Bigiyef- rejected any source other than the Qur'an and Tradition, and denied especially the works of Sufi thinkers, Bigiyef praised Sufis and followed and even "imitated" their ideas. Sabri also pointed out that it was very curious that a person like Bigiyef should turn into an uncritical admirer of Ibn al-'Arabî who had made many contradictory statements concerning the Qur'an and the Hadith.[6]

A partial answer to these questions lies in Bigiyef's statement: "in the matter of understanding the Qur'an I was not satisfied with the explanations of *kalâm* and Methodology (*Usuliyyûn*) scholars, but I benefited a lot from the works of Sufis, such as Rumî's *Mathnawi*, al-Qushairî's *Risala*s, and Ibn al-'Arabî's *Futûhat*."[7]

[1] Ibid., 62.
[2] al-Ishaqî, "Näjat-ï Umûmîgä Bir Nazar," *Din vä Ma'ishat* 4:10 (March 1910): 149.
[3] "'Ilavä yakhud *Tarikh-i Ädyana* Räddiyä." Bu risalälärdä Mûsa Bigiyef'ning ahl-i sünnät väljäma'at mäzhäbinä muhâlif i'tiqadlarï bäyan ädilüb bu bâtïl i'tiqadïna Orenburgnung Mäshhur vä mu'täbar 'ulamâ'sï tarafïndan räddiyälär yazïlmishdïr. Käzâlik bashqa shähirlärning fuzalâ vä mu'täbär 'ulamâ'sï tarafïndan mösyönüng här jümläsinä qadar *shar'î* vä Qur'anî jävablar yazïlub imamlar tarafïndan tasdîk idülüb mäydana qoyulghan räddiyälär därjädilmishdir." *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 46 (December 1910): 725.
[4] Mustafa Sabri, *Yeni İslam Müctehidlerinin Kıymet-i İlmiyyesi*, 71.
[5] Ibid., 7.
[6] Ibid., 8.
[7] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Rahmät-i Ilahiyyä Bürhanlarï*, 16-17.

Sabri continued, saying, "I noticed another characteristic in Bigiyef: Whenever another careless reformist claims something, then Bigiyef turns into a conservative and becomes an opponent. I realized this while reading Bigiyef's *Büyük Mävzûlarda Ufaq Fikirlär.*"[1] Indeed, in this book, Bigiyef defended Sufism against his fellow Tatar reformist Ziya al-Din Kemâlî, and objected to its total rejection. "Total rejection will deprive the Muslim world of great personalities and Sufis such as Junayd, Ma'rûf, Mansûr, Bistâmî, Ibn al-'Arabî, Shams-i Tabrizî, Rumî, Hâfiz, and so forth."[2] In the same book, Bigiyef denied the need for religious reform in Islam:

> In my opinion, Islam has no need for religious reformation. It is not Islam, but we ourselves that have social, religious, and political diseases. For sure we should seek remedies for these diseases. Therefore... we need to reform ourselves... It is improper to apply a Christian Reformation to Islam.[3]

It is necessary to remember that his book is written in a polemical manner and his extremely favorable stand toward Sufism contradicts his earlier stand and sometimes it is very difficult to reconcile his inconsistencies with his Traditionalist stand. Here is one of them:

> Catholics established a nice institution, called the Papacy, as the shadow of God. Through this institution, Christians established a religious government over all Christian governments and because of this institution, religion gained more respect and the Church had a great influence. Our *fuqahâ'* did the opposite: they co-opted the Muslim governments, because of which, they lost their credibility before Muslims. *Tasavvuf* has institutions like *qutb* and *ghavs*. The *fuqahâ'* charged Sufis with being against *shari'a*. But the *fuqahâ'* themselves acted as flatterers and sellers of *sharia* to the statesmen. If the institutions of *qutb* and *ghavs* functioned like the pope and cardinals, this would be more beneficial to Muslims and the *fuqahâ'* would not have become the slaves of the rulers.[4]

Tatar reformers' Sufi sympathies can also be explained partly by their need for support for themselves from a group with a strong tradition. It is obvious that the great body of the Tatar 'ulamâ' had the backing of the Tatar populace. Tatar reformers must have found an easier access to the Sufi circles who had always stood aloof from the official 'ulamâ' circles and usually showed tolerance toward heretical tendencies and readiness to assimilate diverse opinions. In addition, the Naqshbandiyya order, from which Tatar reformists seem to have obtained their support, compromised the Sufi excesses with the

[1] Sabri, 10.
[2] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Büyük Mävzûlarda Ufaq Fikirlär,* 52-58.
[3] Ibid., 5.
[4] Ibid., 60-61.

shari'a orthodoxy. Like the Tatar reformists, Naqshbandîs were also against the deviant Sufism.

4. Disseminating the Reformist Ideas: Jadidist Publications

Despite their inconsistency and the eclecticism in their thinking, the reformers' rational and liberal interpretation of Islam created enthusiastic efforts among the young Tatars to change the existing mentality regarding Muslim social life including education, economic life, political organization, and gender issues. It is difficult to know exactly to what extent their call for unity and putting aside sectarian differences had an effect. However, their cultural activities made way for further social changes in society. They were the first to take advantage of the new printing presses of the day. The discussion appearing in their books and journals reached the reading public and young people, especially madrasah students and urbanites, making a profound impact on them, because these were the people most open to changes of mind.

Through their presses, they played an important role in the development of Tatar as prose. Before the late nineteenth century, Tatar literature basically consisted of folk literature, religious stories and legends. Their written literature goes back to the fifteenth century, but literature in book form started in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, appeared poems by Mullah Quli, *Sayahat* of Isma'il, who was a member of the Russian commercial mission to Central Asia and India. There was also a Tatar translation of the *Murâd al-'Ârifîn* of Shah Ahmad. In the first half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of Central Asian literature, sufî lyrics emerged through the influence of Sufî Allayar (d. 1721 or 1724) who was a continuation of the Ahmed Yasawî school. *Mullah*s, therefore, were the first lyricists.[1] Other than this, there was a religious folk literature that was common to the Turkic peoples of Turkistan, Kazan, Crimea, Azarbaijan as well as the Ottoman Turks. These included *Mävlîd, Sayyid Battal, Ahmädiyä, Muhammädiyä, Käsik Bash* and so on.[2]

Jadidist authors introduced novels and travel books carrying didactic, educational and ideological messages. Through the new printing and press, they conveyed their ideas on a new interpretation of Islam, gender issues, the need for effective education, and, later, nationalism.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, printed books were scarcely in the Kazan region, although they got some books from Egypt, Turkey and elsewhere. Mainly, however, book production was based on copying by hand.[3] However, by the 1880s, even though it was in the old way, the level of

[1] Sa'adî, *Tatar Ädäbiyatï Tarikhi,* 12.
[2] Chobanzâde, *Son Dävir Qïrïm Tatar Ädäbiyatï,* 8-9.
[3] al-Hajitarkhani, "Büyük Üstaz Marjanî Hazräti Haqqïndaghï Khâtïrâtïm," in *Marjanî,* 491.

education had been increased and printing developed. A lot more printed matter came from Istanbul and Egypt, and the reading public increased.[1]

It was in the early nineteenth century that Kazan Tatars first attempted to establish a printing house and made a petition to the Russian czar Alexander I (1801-25). Thus, in 1800, the first printing house opened by imperial order under the name of *Aziatski Tipografiye* (Asiatic Press) in the *gymnasia yurti* at Kazan University for the printing of books in Arabic letters. In 1802, another printing house opened in the Kazan University. Later, in 1869, these two printing houses united under the name of University Printing House.

In 1881 Ismail Gaspirali opened a printing house in Baghchasaray. Then, in 1886, the Yarmalov Printing house in Kazan city started to publish in Arabic script. In 1897, Akhund 'Ata Allah Bayazidov and Ilyas Mirza Burganski established the *Nur* printing house in St. Petersburg. The greatest of these printing houses, the Haritanov, was established in 1896. In 1901, Ghilman Akhund established a printing house, *Matba'a-i Karimiya*, in Orenburg. In 1906, 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov established the *Ülfät* Printing house in St. Petersburg and in the same year, Sharaf Brothers established a Muslim-owned printing house in Kazan city, later under the name of "*Örnäk*". In 1908, 'Abd al-Rahman 'Umarov and his partners opened the first Muslim printing house in the city of Astrakhan. In 1908, Idris 'Aliyev and his partners opened the *Millät Matba'asï* in Kazan. In 1908, Karimov Husaynov established the *Sharq Matba'asï* in Ufa. In 1909, a third printing house, *Vaqt Matba'asï* in Orenburg was established.[2]

Both jadidist and qadimist newspapers and journals provide a lively picture of the topics under discussion at that time. For example, it is clear from the qadimist press that the jadidist media determined the topics they took up: the qadimists expressed their conservative ideas in opposition to what the jadidists published. Their chief organ *Din vä Ma'ishät* took note of the reformist journal *Shûra* and gave answers to the articles it published.

The minute details of religious duties, *fiqh* questions, and formal aspects of religious matters formed the bulk of qadimist interest. At the beginning of every issue of *Din vä Ma'ishät* there is a long section that replied to letters seeking religious opinions (*fatwâs*) on certain religious issues (*fiqhî masälälär*). Other than that, they only criticized what has been said in jadidist journals. Qadimist writing also differs from that of the jadidists in its language. It has more Arabic vocabulary compared with the progressive periodicals, and authors give long Arabic quotations, sometimes the whole article being in Arabic. Also, the names of qadimist writers differ. As compared with shorter and less Arabic jadidist

[1] Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," 170.
[2] Sh. Ahmar, *Matba'ajïlïq Tarikhi* (Kazan: I. N. Kharitonov Matba'asï, 1909), 54-70.

names, qadimists use long names showing their family origin and birth place, and, unlike jadidists, they almost never use Russian patronymics such as "ov".

Even the way qadimists transmitted their ideas showed a difference. Qadimists preferred traditional gatherings such as wedding parties or other kind of meetings to discuss communal matters, basically the dangers of the jadidist threat and precautions against them. Other means were the sending or publishing of letters, pamphlets, and finally using modern means like journals, but to a much lesser degree than the jadidist press. The way they wrote is hardly accessible to the modern educated person because their writing reflects their madrasah education and medieval scholastic background as well as having a pompous style.

Qadimists identified their ideology as *ähl-i sünnät* (*ahl-i sunna*), the orthodox path, and defended ahl-i sunna *kalâm* scholars, and attachment to the orthodox schools. They show opposition to everything that the jadidists introduced including the new method of teaching (*usûl-i jadîd*), organizing literary nights (*ädäbiyat gijäsi*), and playing music (*tägannî vä muzïqa oynamaq*).[1] They also regarded philosophy as an invalid subject according to the *shari'a*. There is an article signed by forty two *imams* rejecting the book called *The Philosophy of Islam* written by jadidist author Ziya al-Din Kemâlî. The authors declared that "Islam has nothing to do with philosophy because there is no knowledge about religion in philosophy, and our *fuqahâ'* called philosophy useless."[2]

Qadimists always regarded jadidists an inner threat and more dangerous to Islam than Russian Orthodox missionaries. "Muslims would pay no attention to missionary claims," they said. "But people and students might believe these progressives seeing them as knowledgeable and Muslim..."[3] Among the other "sins" of the jadidists were: expressing the necessity of opening theaters; claiming that women should not be separated from men, seclusion should be abolished, and both sexes should be equal; finally, they take reason as the base for everything and do not accept anything as Islamic if it is not reasonable.

A qadimist author, while criticizing Bigiyef, expressed his disbelief in the idea that Europeans had progressed and dominated the World because they used their minds in their affairs, and that, if Muslims followed the same path they would progress too. Instead he asserted the following belief: "today Europeans have got an opportunity and progressed, but people coming one or two

[1] 'Ubäyd Allah b. Muhammad Safâ 'Abd al-Rashidî, "Muhtäräm Hasan 'Atâ Qazi Jänablarïna Achïk Mäktub," *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 12 (March 1910): 183.
[2] "Pärvaz Fälsäfäsinä Räddiyä," *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 18 (April 1910): 279.
[3] "*Bu fâsïq mäl'unlarïn Islamgha zararlarï ming ming misyonärlärdän bädtärdir.*" 'A. Khalid, "Orenburg Hazrätlärinä Täshäkkür," *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 22 (May 1910): 325.

centuries later may see the reverse case. History has witnessed these kinds of changes."[1]

A leading jadidist, Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, summarized the ideas of the qadimists as follows: 1. *Muslims should never be Europeanized*: They should maintain the style of living that they observed in their fathers. In their schools, they should teach according to the old system and old sciences. Geography, mathematics, history, and knowledge about nature are useless things. They should not even teach in their language. The Arabic language is sufficient for them. 2. *There is no need for educating women in maktabs and madrasahs.* Women should learn the things related to the basics of the faith and how to pray when they are children. They will learn whatever else is necessary for them from their husbands when they get married. 3. *The learning of Russian language is absolutely improper*, and studying in the Russian schools is the greatest sin.[2]

This program reflects the exact opposite of what jadidists wanted to accomplish. Also, by looking at the qadimists' stand, it becomes clearer what the jadidists were trying to change. Under the penetrating influence of nineteenth-century modern thought, jadidists recognized the necessity of assimilating western culture in a selective way, and they aimed at altering the mental attitude of Muslims in regard to religious thought, education, gender issues, and politics.

5. Striving for Women's equality

Another important aspect of jadidist reconciliation shows itself in their defense of the equality of women with men according to true Islam. Reformists like Ismail Gaspirali, who supported the liberation of women with Islamic principles, were quite effective in the process of improving the status of Tatar women. Unlike most other late nineteenth-century Muslim societies, the Kazan Tatars had already stepped forward to improve the status of their women. The first Muslim woman's magazine in Russia was published in 1906 in Baghchasaray by Shafiqa Khanim, the daughter of Ismail Gaspirali. In 1917, during the First All-Russian Muslim Congress, authorities appointed a Tatar Muslim woman as a judge (*qadi*) Fatima Qulahmedova who was also the first female Muslim *qadi* in the Islamic World.[3]

[1] Çüçäk Sävdagäri Aqsaqal Hasan Bärbishäf, "Mûsa [Bigiyef]dan Suallär," *Din vä Ma'ishät* 4: 25 (June 1910): 383-84.
[2] Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sâkin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dâir," 202.
[3] Nadir Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi: (1905-1917)* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1985), 281.

Bigiyef was a defender of women's equality, claiming that Muslim women had been independent during the early period of Islam, but that subsequent measures introduced by narrow-minded *fuqahâ'* had enslaved them by isolating them behind closed doors. Bigiyef, in a chapter of his book *Khatun* (Woman), analyzed the status of women in Turkic oral and written traditions. He gave examples from *Kitab-ı Dede Qorqud* (The Book of Dede Korkut), a collection of stories relating the heroic deeds of the Oghuz Turkomans, in order to show the high status of women in the Turko-Islamic past.[1]

Bigiyef's defense of women's rights was at least partly motivated by Christian missionary attacks[2] regarding the Qur'anic permission for a man to marry four women, women witnesses, men's right to divorce and so on. Bigiyef found these allegations unfounded and unjust. He attributed the regrettable backwardness of their Muslim women to the shortsightedness, fanaticism and ignorance of the past, as well as contemporary 'ulamâ'. He argued that these ignorant *fuqahâ'* created unnecessary measures to protect the morality of Muslim society, but these measures did more harm than good and enslaved Muslim women and made all but the few of them illiterate.

Bigiyef advocated the equality of female and male according to true Islam.[3] He claimed that monogamy is basic in the Qur'an, polygamy being permitted only when it becomes a necessity.[4] He interpreted the Qur'anic verse "men have authority (*qawwamun*) over women"[5] differently. According to him "*qawwamun*" does not mean "authority", but "serving administrators" (*khâdim mudirläridir*). This indicates that a man is the leader of his family, but that he has to be a compassionate leader. In this leadership, the serving (*khâdimlik*) element is emphasized rather than dominance (*hâkimlik*) in this leadership.[6] In the matter of testimony, Bigiyef believed that women were entitled to the same rights as men, but they were freed from this duty because of difficulty in going to court.[7] Despite its apologetic nature, these explanations must have found some appeal for the youth who did not know Islam very well but passionately sought Islam's compatibility with modern civilization.

A Tatar writer claimed that, as happened in the awakening of other nations, the Tatar Renaissance started as a religious reform movement but it prepared the

[1] Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *Khâtun* (Berlin: N.p., 1933), 24. He wrote this book in late 1916 but was able to publish it only in 1933 in Berlin. In this book, Bigiyef called Qasim Amin "*mujtahid*" and praised Amin's work *Tahrir al-Mar'a* and its creating intellectual ferment in Egypt, India, Turkey and among the Muslims of Russia.
[2] Ibid., 4.
[3] Ibid., 110.
[4] Ibid., 70.
[5] The Qur'an, 4: 34.
[6] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khâtun*, 78.
[7] Ibid., 100.

basis for the coming [secularist] "revolution".[1] Indeed, Qursavî represented the pure revivalist phase of the Tatar reformism whereas Marjanî's mental journey shows rather revivalist but also modernist tendencies. The puritanist ideas of the following jadidist 'ulamâ', Rizâ al-Din and Bigiyef, are characteristic of an ideology closely interwoven with modernism.

Marjanî's contact with Kazan University marks the beginning of the modernist phase of Tatar reformism. Its appeal was however to Islamic revivalism, not modernist ideology. In a way, he was using modernism in the service of his Islamism. Nevertheless, even with this purpose, he opened the way to more modernist and secular jadidism.

As the evidence shows, desire for purity in belief constituted the crucial part of the reformists' modernizing activity, opening the way to new ideas and values. They imagined that a pure and modernized version of Islam could reconcile Muslims with modern developments and motivate them to pursue a path of progress. They saw, for example, new schooling as the fundamental and most effective way to change the outdated, stagnant and sluggish mentality that had haunted Muslims for centuries. The following chapter will analyze the nature and impact of the educational and cultural reforms of the Tatar reformists.

[1] Jamâl al-Din Validov, *Tatar Ädäbiyatïnïng Barïshï* (Orenburg: Vaqt Matba'asï, 1912), 42.

Chapter IV

REFORMING THE SCHOOLING SYSTEM

The reformists' attitude regarding the fate of the madrasahs also shows a reconciling bent. That is, despite their severe attacks on the contemporary madrasah education, which took its sustenance from the medieval age, the majority of the reformists had a strong desire to keep Islamic subjects fundamental to Tatar education. This indicates how closely their idea of education tied in with their basic aim of reconciling Islam and the modern age. The importance of educational reform for the Tatar reformists was seen in the fact that this movement started with a desire to change the curricula and teaching system used in the contemporary Tatar schools. Also, the schools became the chief channel for transmitting jadidist ideas among the young generation, and in the long run, these reformed schools exercised a profound impact on the upcoming generations of Tatars. All these reasons indicate that the ideas and efforts of the reformists in reorganizing the Tatar schools were crucial revitalizing and modernizing Tatar society.

A Scottish journal has described what Tatar society and their attitude toward modern schooling was like at the turn of the century:

> They [the Kazan Tatars] stubbornly resist, however, Russification, they object to their children being sent to Russian schools, and they have no good schools of their own. They maintain their communion with the Mussulman world outside Russia, and readily submit to the influence of Mullah, Dervishes, and other religious men.[1]

Despite this common attitude, at the same time, more and more Tatars realized that traditional schools were unable to respond to the needs of the modern age. Their demands and efforts in the direction of reforming the madrasah crystallized the qadimists' stand that opposed any attempt for change claiming that these reforms would turn Muslim schools into "infidel" (Russian) counterparts. After the 1905 Russian Revolution a new tendency developed among the students of the reformed madrasahs who wanted a full adoption of the modern curricula and a complete abandonment of Islamic subjects. It was a turning point for deciding the fate of the madrasahs. The question, then, developed as to whether Tatars should reform the madrasahs internally or promote only modern schools. The mainstream jadidists, such as Yusuf

[1] Dingelsstedt, "The Mussulman Subjects of Russia," 9.

Akçuraoğlu and Mûsa Bigiyef, disapproved of the complete abandonment of madrasahs and the establishment of European-model schools as was being done in the Ottoman empire. However, they proposed including the exact sciences in the madrasah curriculum while retaining the religious subjects in a modified form.[1]

Reform efforts to reorganize madrasahs fall into two basic periods, each with its special characteristics: 1. The revivalist phase (1809-1870), 2. the modernist phase (1870-1917). In the first phase, reformists such as Qursavî and Marjanî severely criticized the old system of education modeled on the pedantic and medieval scholastic education of Central Asian madrasahs. 2. In the second phase, it was again Marjanî who brought the idea of reform a step further and, especially after 1870, attempted to modernize the madrasah curriculum by including the teaching Russian language and secular sciences. Even though he was not completely successful in his aims, his ideology gained ground and attracted more and more interest among young Tatars. Revivalist ideas survived even after Marjanî's blended ideology in shaping the thought and activities of Rizâ al-Din, Bigiyef, and 'Abashî, which entailed a growing modernist aspect.

The idea of reorganizing madrasahs was closely linked with the jadidists' basic ideology of reconciling Islam and modernization. They saw educational reform, therefore, as a major tool to achieve their aims of revitalizing and modernizing Tatar society.

The reformists offered the following principal criticisms: 1. Rather than studying the Qur'an and the Tradition in depth, the madrasah put more emphasis upon impractical medieval theological subjects and discussion of them. The textbooks were fossilized manuals based on the poorly written books of corrupted, second-hand scholars (*muta'akhkhirûn* 'ulamâ'), and the madrasah forced the students to plunge into a sea of exegesis and footnotes. 2. It was a pedantic education, taking as long as twenty years with poor results. 3. The madrasah curriculum lacked exact sciences, therefore students acquired hardly any knowledge of practical matters.

1. The Pedantic Character of the Madrasah Education

Before analyzing the reform activities and their impact, it is necessary to survey the educational status of the Kazan Tatars up to the nineteenth century. Research shows that the reformist *mullah* 'Abashî provided the only substantial information about the curriculum of the Tatar madrasahs after the Russian conquest of the Kazan Khanate. Moreover, it is difficult to verify his

[1] Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sâkin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dâir," 202.

information from other sources, except from the biographical work of Rizâ al-Din.[1]

According to 'Abashî, during this period, Tatar youth received their education by studying at the madrasahs of Daghestan. The Daghestani model of education continued until the reign of Catherine II, when the pattern of Central Asian education became dominant in the Kazan region. 'Abashî and Rizâ al-Din strongly idealized the curriculum of the Daghestani madrasahs. This type of education, 'Abashî believed, promoted both the religious and secular aspects of Tatar life, and consequently nurtured able scholars and skillful merchants among the Tatars.

'Abashî even provided a curriculum of these Daghestani madrasahs: The textbooks included the *Anmûzaj* (Sample) of Zamakhsharî (d. 1142) and the *Kâfiya* of Ibn Hâjib (d. 1248-49) on Arabic grammar; the *Mukhtasar* (Abridgment) of Imam Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Qudûrî (d. 1036/37) on Islamic jurisprudence; the *'Aqîdah* (Creed) of Abû Ja'far al-Tahawî (d. 933) on the Islamic creed; *Tanbih al-Ghafilîn* (The Warning to the Heedless) of Abû al-Layth al-Samarkandî (d. 983/84); the *Shari'at al-Islam* (Islamic Canonical Law) of Rukn al-Islam (d. 1177/78) on ethics; the *Usûl* (The Methodology) of Fakhr al-Islam al-Pazdawî on the methodology of Islamic jurisprudence; the *Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn* (the Commentary of the Two Jalâls) on the interpretation of the Qur'an; and the *Sahih* (the Authentic Anthology) of Muhammad bin Isma'il al-Bukharî (d. 869/70) on Tradition.[2]

What was the magic in this curriculum that caused progress among the Tatars of the past? 'Abashî presented two reasons: First, subjects such as Arabic grammar, *fiqh*, *akhlaq* (ethics), *i'tiqad* (the tenets of the faith), *tafsir*, and *hadith*, (but not *mantiq* and *kalâm*) were true Islamic sciences.[3] This is what scholars such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya had believed. Second, the textbooks were primarily written by *mutaqaddimûn* scholars, that is the early pious orthodox scholars.[4]

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly whom 'Abashî, Rizâ al-Din or Bigiyef were referring to when they mentioned "*mutaqaddimûn* scholars". These works of *mutaqaddimûn* mentioned above date back to the ninth until the thirteenth century. Whereas, according to 'Abashî, *mutaqaddimûn* scholars were supposed to be before the thirteenth century. The most distinct feature of these

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âsar* 1: 2 (Orenburg: Muhammad Fatih bin Ghilman Karimof Matba'asî, 1901), 66-67.
[2] Hasan 'Ata b. Mullah Muhammad al-'Abashî, "Marjanî Hazratlärini Isgä Tüshürü," in *Marjanî*, ed. Salih b. Sabit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asî, 1915), 570.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

scholars was their condemnation of the study of *kalâm* while regarding it as a heretical innovation and excluding it from the madrasah curriculum.

It is true that there was a certain time in Islamic history, before the eleventh century, when the subject of *kalâm* found no place in Islamic educational institutions: neither the madrasah, nor the mosque. The regular curriculum of these institutions included the teaching of the Qur'an, the *hadith*, and Arabic grammar and literature as well as law (*fiqh*). Mu'tazilî *kalâm* was taught in secrecy at homes whereas Ash'arî *kalâm* could only be preached (*wa'z*) at mosques.[1] Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din were probably referring to this era when they say "the *salaf* never approved the study of *kalâm*."

It was only after the founding of the Nizamiya madrasah in Baghdad in the eleventh century that, for the first time, the study of Ash'arî *kalâm* was included in the madrasah curriculum.[2] This event also marks the Ash'arî victory and further spread of Islamic theological studies into other Muslim madrasahs, including Central Asian, and subsequently to Tatar madrasahs.

As far as the sources suggest, during the reign of Catherine II, ambitious Tatar pupils started to go to the madrasahs of Bukhara and Samarkand to improve their knowledge in Islamic sciences. Mansur Efendi, the father of the first mufti Muhammadjan, became the first student to do so.[3] On their return Tatar students brought back the Bukharan system of education. According to 'Abashî, Tatar madrasahs switched from the curriculum of the early scholars to that of the later scholars (*muta'akhkhirûn*). For the madrasahs of Bukhara put a strong emphasis on the teaching of scholastic theology, and teaching in these madrasahs was based on the books of the *muta'akhkhirûn*.

How did Ash'arî theology establish itself so firmly in Central Asian madrasahs? Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef, a Tatar reformist, argued that the *muta'akhkhirûn* of Bukhara had come to the fore in the fourteenth century, with *mutakallimûn* al-Taftazanî and Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjanî, both of them contemporaries of Timur (1336-1405). During their time, the educational system of the madrasahs changed dramatically, with learning concentrated almost entirely on scholastic theology. Al-Taftazanî wrote commentaries on the books written by the early scholars. These works were highly respected by al-Taftazanî's contemporaries and *muta'akhkhirûn*, and became manuals in the madrasah curriculum. Accordingly, both al-Taftazanî and al-Jurjanî created a new tradition of education in the madrasahs of Central Asia, India, Egypt, Iran and Turkey. From then on, scholarly activities became limited to merely writing commentaries and super-commentaries on the works of earlier scholars.

[1] George Makdisi, "Remarks on Traditionalism in Islamic Religious History," 83.
[2] Ibid., 82.
[3] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr*, 288.

Almost all reformists held al-Taftazanî and al-Jurjanî responsible for opening the way for the *muta'akhkhirûn* scholars, whom they regarded as representing corruption and narrow-mindedness. Reformists believed that by favoring commentary writing, al-Taftazanî had caused Muslim scholars to abandon original thinking. Furthermore, under his influence, the madrasahs of Central Asia had dropped the study of the exact sciences and "true" Islamic sciences.[1] From then on, knowledge meant merely writing commentaries on the books of previous scholars.

Vambery, who was the earliest modern scholar of Central Asia suggested that during the political dominance of the Samanids and later, Central Asia was the center of scientific celebrity. He continued to say that it was under Turkic rule that theological studies became dominant in Central Asian madrasahs and this situation consequently hastened to the decline of science there.[2] He wrote:

> The place of scientific culture has been taken by exclusively theological studies and mystic speculation. There has been no want of richly endowed colleges and schools; but the students, flocking from all parts of Central Asia and India, have turned their attention to purely religious questions, neglecting even such subjects as philosophy, law, and philology, which are still cultivated in the colleges of Western Islam. Naturally, then, scientific inquiry having been gradually banished, religious eccentricity has taken place, and Central Asia has long been the seat of fanaticism.[3]

These critical remarks of Vambery on the Turkic culture prove to be unfounded. Long after the Samanîds, at least up the the fifteenth century, scientific researches continued under the Turkic dynasties.

The leading religious reformer 'Abduh also connected the rise of Turkic power with the spread of *taqlîd*, and scientific decline.[4] Turks, he believed, "encouraged a slavish acceptance of authority, discouraged the free exercise of reason among those they ruled,"[5] and manipulated the 'ulamâ' "to teach the faithful a dull stagnation in matters of belief and acceptance of political authority."[6] Even in recent times, some Middle Eastern nationalist or reformist thinkers hold the same opinion.[7] Such explanations for the reasons for scientific

[1] Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef, *Mavaraünnahrdä Säyahat* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiya I. V. Yermolaevoy, 1908), 9-10.
[2] Arminius Vambery, "Muhammadanism (in Central Asia)," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1951), 888.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ernst Renan blamed the Turks for scientific decline. Hourani, 150.
[5] Ibid., 150.
[6] Ibid., 151.
[7] Osman Amin, "Some Aspects of Religious Reform in the Muslim Middle East," in *The Conflict of Traditionalism and Modernism in the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Carl Leiden (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1965), 90.

decline rather based on the biased opinions of some nineteenth-century European thinkers. However, in the early twentieth century, this theory caught some Muslim reformists who were eager to find people responsible for the Muslim decline. As an instance of this, Tatar reformer Mûsa Bigiyef held the Ottoman shaykh al-Islams responsible for the removal of critical thinking. His blaming the Ottoman 'ulamâ' with the establishment of the mentality of imitation (*taqlîd*) shows a resemblance with 'Abduh's attack on the Turkish 'ulamâ'. Nevertheless, Bigiyef never meant to blame Turks when he criticized the Ottoman 'ulamâ'.

A decline of science probably occurred because of the gradual isolation of Central Asia from the dramatic developments occurring in Europe since the sixteenth century, as Tatar reformer Akçuraoğlu noted.[1] As a consequence, politically, scientifically and commercially Central Asia had lost its former dynamism and importance. The great empires of Central Asia yielded their place to petty states that fought continuously with each other. Furthermore, with the discovery of the sea routes the Silk Road had lost its importance and trade declined; and as regards science, education remained unchanged for centuries while Europe underwent major industrial and cultural changes.

Now, this study will try to identify the textbooks used and explain the practice of teaching in Central Asian madrasahs, which Tatar reformists complained about so strongly. Study in madrasahs was based on book-by-book learning. After completing each book a student would receive a certificate from his teacher testifying to his accomplishment. The number of books he had read and the scholars under whom he had studied proved the depth of his knowledge. The textbooks were primarily in the Arabic language. Therefore, the study of Arabic grammar was essential. Interestingly, students studied a grammar book in Persian called *Bedan* (Know!). The teaching method was quite ineffective, and according to the reformists' accounts, even after studying decades of Arabic, students were still unable to speak or write the language.[2]

As stated before, the core of the madrasah curriculum was the study of *kalâm*. In order to understand *kalâm*, students had to study a logic (*mantiq*) book called *Isagoge*.[3] (*Isagoge* is a well-known Greek work. Its presence in the curriculum calls for elaboration.) According to Mûsa Bigiyef, *kalâm* arose from the influence of Christian scholasticism as it entered the Muslim world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, involving a countering of Classical Greek philosophy by using its own methods and concepts. However, in the course of time, the conceptions of Greek philosophy influenced the Muslim theologians.

[1] Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sâkin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dâir," 202.
[2] Abdullah Battal-Taymas, "Usul-ü Kadim," *Türk Kültürü* 40 (1966): 408.
[3] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä*, 4.

Some of the concepts that *kalâm* dealt with were the problem of the personality of God, His essence (*zhât*) and His qualities (*sifat*), and the attribute of the speech (*kalâm*) of God.[1]

The textbooks on *kalâm*, and its related subject *mantiq*, included the following: 'Umar al-Qazwinî al-Katibî's[2] (d. 1276) *Al-Risala al-Shamsiya fi al-Qawa'id al-Mantiqiya* (the Booklet by al-Shamsî on the Rules of Logic) and *al-Hikmat al-'Ayn* (the Wisdom of the Eye).[3] The first book is a manual of logic, the second a book on physics and metaphysics (about planets, stars, elements, Earth, and so on) consisting of two huge volumes. Another required book was the famous jurist and theologian 'Umar al-Nasafî's (d. 1142) *'Aqaid* (Islamic Creed);[4] *Mullah Jalâl*, with super-commentaries by Qarabaghî (d. 1642) and Mawlawi Sharif (d. 1697); *Sullam al-'Ulûm* (the Ladder of Sciences) of Muhib Allah al-Hindî (d. 1707), with a commentary by Qadi Mubarakshah.

Compared with *kalâm*, other subjects such as *'usûl al-fiqh*, *hadith*, and *tafsir* received only brief treatment. The required textbooks included Sadr al-Shari'a's (d. 1443) *Talqih* (Imbuing) and its commentary, by al-Taftazanî, *Tawdîh* (Clear Explanation).[5] *Talqih* is a voluminous book on the methodology of Islamic jurisprudence dealing with the four basic sources for *ijtihad* (that is, Qur'an, *Sunna*, *qiyas*, and *ijmâ'*) and the varieties of expressions, meanings, and literary styles as well as the narration of *hadith*. Students read some chapters from *Mishkât al-Masâbîh* (the Lamps' Niche).[6] It includes subjects such as faith, ablution, prayer, fasting, death, alms-giving, and economic transactions. The interpretation of the Qur'an included famous commentator al-Baydawî's *Tafsir* (the Commentary).[7]

The study of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) consisted mainly of knowledge on how to divide inheritance, how to perform ablution, how to pray, and the rules

[1] Ibid., 4.
[2] Nadim al-din 'Ali b. 'Umar al-Qazvinî is an Iranian philosopher, and a pupil of Nasir al-din al-Tûsî. See: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. "Al-Katibî."
[3] Qutb al-din Muhammad al-Shirazî, *Sharh al-Hikmat al-'Ayn* (Kazan: Tipo-Litografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1322/1904).
[4] *'Aqaid* of al-Nasafî was translated into English in 1843 by William Cureton under the title of *'Umda 'Aqîda Ahl al-Sunna va al-Jamâ'a. The Pillar of the Creed of the Sunnites: Being a Brief Exposition of their Tenents, by Hâfidh-uldîn Abûlbarakât Abd-ullah Alnasafî* (London: Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, 1843); See: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. "Al-Nasafî." This famous work has many commentaries written by Mullah Ahmad (d. 1525/6) and Khayalî (d. 1465/6). Khayalî's commentary has two super-commentaries by Fath Abadî (d. 1659/60) and 'Abd al-Hakim.
[5] 'Ubayd Allah b. Mas'ud al-Mulaqqab Sadr al-Shari'a, *Tawzîh ma' al-Talwîh* (Kazan: Tipo-Litografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1908). These two works were prepared by Shams al-din b. Husayn al-Qursavî al-Qazanî.
[6] Wali al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Hatîb al-'Umarî al-Tabrizî, *Mishkat al-Masâbih* (Kazan: Lito-Tipografiya Brat'ia Karimovi, 1908-9), 2 vols.
[7] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä*, 3.

of marriage and divorce. The textbooks included the famous work on Islamic law, Ibn 'Abidîn's (1784-1842) commentary on the *Radd al-Mukhtar* (the Refutation of the Selected [Views]) of al-Haskafî (d. 1677). Students read *Mukhtasar al-Wiqaya* (the Abridged Book of the Protection from the Wrong Path) of Sadr al-Shari'a[1] and its commentary, the *Jâmi' al-Rumûz* (the Comprehensive Book of Symbols) of Shams al-Din M. al-Kuhistanî (d. 1552/3),[2] a legal opinion (*fatwâ*) book that madrasah teachers frequently used. It is about ablution, prayer, fasting, alms-giving, economic transactions, things canonically held in detestation (*mäkrûhât*), appropriate drinking, testimony, lawsuit, and crime.

Books on ethics included a summary of *Ihyâ' Ulûm al-Dîn* (the Revival of the Religious Sciences) by al-Ghazzalî, entitled *'Ayn al-'Ilm* (the Fountain of Knowledge), written by 'Ali al-Qarî (d. 1603). *Falsafa-i Ilahiya* or *Hikmat-i Ilahiya* consisted of proofs of the ten reasons (*'uqûl-i 'ashara*), ten categories and nine planets, and textbooks included *al-Hikmat al-'Ayn* and *al-'Ufq al-Mubîn* (the Clear Horizon).[3]

Students had to know these formal subjects. If they wanted to learn material outside these courses, they found books and studied by themselves, for history, geography, and mathematics had long been excluded from the madrasah curriculum.[4]

The chief means of instruction in madrasah education was the method of disputation (*munâzara*). First, the instructor (*damla* or *mudarris*) gave a term or issue for discussion. Students discussed the possibility of different understandings of these issues, and sometimes a student opposed the instructor's opinion, or students might debate with each other. After listening to the ideas of his pupils, the instructor summed up his own conclusion. Knowledge of the issues of *mantiq*, *kalâm*, *al-hikmat al-qadîma*, and *'usûl al-fiqh* and the ability to discuss questions dealing with these subjects was *de rigueur*.[5] These subjects constituted the intellectual interests of the students, allowing them to demonstrate their depth of knowledge and thus to attract respect in their social gatherings. The jadidist Battal-Taymas and Russian traveler Khanikov admitted that despite its pedantic, limited, and time-

[1] Abu Muhammad 'Ubayd Allah b. Mas'ud b. Taj al-Shari'a al-Mahbubî al-Kirmanî, *Sharh al-Wiqaya* (Kazan: Tipo-Litografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1901). *Tärjümä-i Mukhtasar-i Wiqaya* [in Turkî language] (Tashkent: Tipo-Litografiya V. M. Il'ina, 1901). Translated by Mullah Maqsud Khwaja b. Mansur Khwaja.

[2] Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Kuhustanî, *Jâmi' al-Rumûz* (Kazan: Lito-Tipografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1902).

[3] Ibid., 4.

[4] Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef, *Mavaraünnahrdä Säyahat*, 104.

[5] Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," 108; Khanikoff, *Bokhara: Its Amir and its People*, translated from Russian by The Baron Clement A. De Bode. (London: James Madden, 1845), 279.

consuming character, this method helped students to develop their reasoning abilities.[1]

This was the type of education that Tatar reformists wanted to reverse. Here, a question arises: How did the Tatar reformers come up with the idea of change along *salafî* lines? It can be explained with the existence of an educational network between the intellectual centers of the Islamic world. Those students who yearned for science searched within the Muslim world for able teachers, each of whom taught a single book or subject. For example, if a Tatar student wanted to deepen his knowledge on Islamic law, he went to Bukhara, sought out a certain expert on Islamic law, read certain books under his supervision while remaining in the expert's house and at times doing his housework. When he had acquired a satisfactory knowledge of the subject, he received a certificate from his instructor and moved to another place to learn another subject.

This educational network among the 'ulamâ' of Muslim societies must have made the interaction of thoughts easier and helped the further spread of puritanical Islamic movements through the channels of the pilgrimage route and India into Tatarstan. The Tatars, being a traditional merchant society, had Tatar scholars accompanying their traveling merchants to seek scholars known for expertise in various specialties of religious sciences. These traveling scholars exchanged ideas with foreign Muslim experts. Such traveling resulted in some individual Tatar religious scholars expressing their dissatisfaction with the current situation of Muslim societies.

In addition to this, the development of printing and the press among the Muslims must have helped in their intense exchange of revivalist as well as modernist ideas. Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din, and Bigiyef became aware of the efficiency and superiority of the teaching of European and Russian scholars studying the East. This led them to start changing their view on education and to criticize severely the inherited system of teaching in the madrasahs.

In every Muslim country many intellectuals expressed their dissatisfaction with madrasah education and consequently inclined toward self-education. Namik Kemal, Ahmed Midhat Efendi, 'Abduh, and al-Afghanî are the best examples. Ahmed Midhat Efendi expressed his discontent with these words: "whoever contents himself with the education of maktab and madrasah remains ignorant."[2]

[1] Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef, *Mavaraünnahrdä Säyahat*, 107.

[2] Muhammad Najib Tontarî, "Marjanî Hazrätläri Haqqïnda Khâtirâtïm," in *Marjanî*, ed. Salih b. Sâbit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 508.

2. The Reformed Madrasahs and their Impact

Other than Indian and Middle Eastern networks for the exchange of ideas, Tatars started to gain contact with the Russian channel. First, selectively (like Marjanî and other religious reformers), then more openly. The establishment of Kazan University and of the Institute of Archaeology, History and Ethnography in 1804 had a considerable impact on the cultural and intellectual life of the Tatars. Russian Orientalists such as Nikolai Nikolaevich Firsov (1864-1934), Nikolai Fedorovich Katanov (1862-1922), Sergei Mikhailovich Shpilevskii (1833-1907), and Il'ia Nikolaevich Berezin (1818-1886) studied the history of the Bulghars and the Kazan Khanate.[1] Moreover, the university placed strong emphasis on the teaching of languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkic (Turkî).

The university had an indirect impact on the Tatar intellectuals. In the beginning, very few Tatar students attended its classes, and throughout the nineteenth century, only nine or ten Tatar medical doctors and three or four linguists graduated. They did not play an important role in Tatar society. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, some educated Tatars gradually began to learn the Russian language and to read Russian works, and they established contacts with professors and participated in some intellectual activities at the university.

The most prominent of these Tatars was 'Abd al-Qayyum Nâsirî.[2] After studying at a madrasah in Kazan, he taught himself Russian at a time when the Tatars considered it despicable to learn that language. Furthermore, he accepted an unusual job for a Tatar, teaching the Tatar language in a Russian school directed by Orthodox missionaries. Later, he taught in the Kazan Theological Seminary. He attended lectures at Kazan University in the 1860s, and as an encyclopedist and prolific writer, drew the interest of the Tatar public to reading. Nâsirî's case represents a radical orientation toward European culture, and traditionalist *mullah*s detested him.[3]

The effectiveness of the teaching system used by orientalists was attracting the interest and enthusiasm of the Muslim intellectuals. Rizâ al-Din, for one, openly admitted his admiration, pointing out the great difference between the teaching of the orientalists and madrasahs:

[1] Two of these works are: S. M. Shipilevskii, *Drevnie goroda i drugie Bulgarsko-Tatarskie pamiatniki v Kazanskoi gubernii* (Ancient Cities and other Bulgharian-Tatar Monuments in the Province of Kazan) (Kazan: V Universitetskoi Tip., 1877); *Ukazatel' istoricheskikh dostoprimiechatel'nosti g. Kazani* (Kazan: V Universitetskoi Tip. 1873).
[2] Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 184.
[3] Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum Al-Nasyri: A Tatar Reformer of the 19th Century," *Central Asian Survey* 1: 4 (April 1983): 112-16.

> Why are the students [of madrasahs] not able to speak everyday Arabic after spending more than ten years learning Arabic and studying so many grammar books?... Students who learn from orientalists, on the contrary, can read and write Arabic effectively in a short time, like two years... Madrasah students study books without understanding, while students of orientalists go directly to the purpose without wasting time with unnecessary things. This is the primary difference between the new method (*usûl-i jadîdä*) and the old method (*usûl-i qadîmä*) of teaching.[1]

In addition to the influence of Kazan University, the deliberate attempt of the Russian government to incorporate Tatars into the Russian empire seems to have been fairly effective. Their educational policy aimed at Russifying non-Russian subjects by means of teaching the Russian language in schools. Before 1870, there seems to have been no interference by the Russian government in the Muslim Tatar maktabs and madrasahs. In 1869, however, D. A. Tolstoy, the Minister of Education, prepared a program for the spread of elementary education to the natives of the Crimea, Volga, Siberia, and Urals. He introduced the plan in 1870[2] and, later the same year, a governmental law required maktabs and madrasahs to have Russian language classes.

In 1876, the government opened a Teachers College for Tatar students (*Uchitel'skaya Shkola*) to train Tatar teachers in the Russian language. In this connection it should be noted that V. V. Radlov, a Russian official and scholar, was a close friend of Marjanî, and the two men agreed that prospective Tatar prayer leaders (*imam*s) and teachers (*mu'allim*s) conversant in Russian could advance the progress of the Tatars. Interestingly, it was through Radlov's advise and the governor's request that Marjanî agreed to teach Islamic religion in this new school. Marjanî explained the reason for accepting this position:

> I had never thought about becoming a teacher in this school. But Radlov asked repeatedly and the governor specifically [that I accept the position]. Then I thought that it would be an important mission... So I decided to occupy the post myself, considering the necessity of showing the students who study there the view of the *shari'a* concerning life and all kinds of sciences and arts, and the fact that Muslims have made a great contribution to all kinds of sciences.[3]

As seen in the quotation, in actuality Marjanî's acceptance of the position showed his willingness to participate in Russian society in order to gain some benefit for his community. Despite his cooperation, Marjanî was uncompromising in his principles. He believed that a Tatar student should first learn his own language. Only after that might he learn Russian. So when he accepted the teaching job at the Teachers College, he stipulated that no Tatar

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âdâb-ï Ta'lîm*, 65.
[2] Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, "Tsarist Educational Policy in Turkestan, 1867-1917," *Central Asian Review* 11 (1963): 375-76.
[3] Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," 127-28.

student enroll in the school without a basic Islamic education. The government officials agreed with him at first but after a few years the administration started to accept students with no Islamic background.[1] Marjanî, feeling betrayed, struggled to change the situation. But the majority of the teachers, as well as the school inspector, disagreed with him. In the end, using his old age as a pretext, the administration of the school forced Marjanî to resign in 1884.[2]

Another indication of Marjanî's willingness to change is his advocating the learning of the Russian language. He became the bravest advocate of this for the Tatars and believed that Russian would serve as a medium to learn about the science, the arts, and industry of Europe. Russian was also important for the Tatar leadership in order to know what was going on in Russia through the press and laws issued by the government.

Despite his eagerness and zeal to advocate learning of the Russian language, however, Marjanî was aware of the dangers of learning Russian and therefore proceeded with extreme caution. First, he limited his suggestion to students who already had a basic Muslim education. Second, he warned them not to mix Russian with their own Turkî language and not to speak Russian among themselves. His concern was to protect the Turkî language and the Muslim national identity. Thus he always suggested that his students protect themselves from the pervasiveness of the Russian language, Russian habits, and customs.[3]

Marjanî's urge for learning the Russian language created the first big split between him and the qadimist 'ulamâ'. As a measure to protect religious identity, the qadimist 'ulamâ' discouraged the learning of Russian. This was perhaps because some Tatars who had studied in Russian schools had become alienated from the Tatar people. The qadimists feared that the new arrangements for the madrasahs would turn them into Russian schools and believed that teaching the Russian language would weaken the religious spirit of the people. As a reaction, therefore, they issued a legal opinion (*fatwâ*) declaring the learning of the Russian language prohibited and contrary to the *shari'a*.[4]

Qadimists disapproved of any contact with the orientalists or missionaries and charged this kind of relationship as betrayal. Thus, they interpreted Marjanî's mingling with Russian speakers and orientalists as evidence of his being unpatriotic and holding treacherous intentions. Besides that, when Marjanî held the post of *akhund*, he used the civil authorities to carry out his

[1] 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ismail b. 'Umar al-Hajitarkhanî, "Büyük Üstaz Marjanî Hazräti Haqqïndaki Khâtïratïm," in *Marjanî*, ed. Salih b. Sâbit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 501.
[2] Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," 134.
[3] At that time there were discussions, considerations, and expressions of ideas, measures and meetings involving the Muslims of Russia in the Russian press and among Russian counselors and administrators. See Sharaf, 126-27.
[4] al-'Abashî, "Marjanî Hazratlärini Isgä Tüshürü," 561.

clerical authority. This made him appear a pawn of civil authorities. These matters caused people to attack him, and qadimists look at him with hatred.

Besides the resistance of the qadimists, Marjanî himself experienced difficulty when he attempted to change the traditional curriculum in his own madrasah (Madrasa-i 'Âliya). To begin with, this had included new courses on the interpretation of the Qur'an, the *hadith*, the life of the Prophet, philosophy, rhetoric, and morals.[1] In addition, he always made an effort to attract the students' interest to modern works. For instance, one day he brought a book written by the Turkish writer Ahmed Midhat Efendi to class and read some excerpts. He hoped to arouse his students' interest in contemporary literature, but was not getting the response that he expected. After the class a student said "The teacher [Marjanî] devoted himself to these useless subjects. If he had talked about an issue of *mantiq* we could have benefited and learned something from it. Instead we listened to this and wasted our time for nothing."[2]

This demonstrates a strong demand among students to know about the theological subjects of *mantiq* and *kalâm*, and Marjanî must have taken into consideration the risk of losing students if he removed the courses on these topics from madrasah curriculum. Indeed, under pressure from his students, he had to give up most of the courses that he had planned for them and increase the course hours for *mantiq* and *kalâm*, which up until then he had condemned. Eventually, his madrasah became somewhat similar to the Bukharan madrasahs in terms of its curriculum.

In the 1880s, a very important wave of reform movement came from the south of the Russian empire, with a Crimean Tatar, Ismail Gaspirali, who initiated a practical educational reform in elementary school teaching.

Ismail Gaspirali himself had experienced the difference between the Russian school and the Muslim maktab. In his time students used to spend five years just to learn verses from the Qur'an for praying and some readings from the Qur'an. He first studied in a Muslim maktab under the old system, then transferred to a Russian maktab and greatly favored the Russian system of teaching. When he was in France, he observed the French Ministry of Education's emphasis on maktabs. The new method of teaching offered by Gaspirali was based on phonetic method (*usûl-i savtiya*). With this new method, the students could learn reading and writing in 45 days.[3] He opened the first *usûl-i jadîd maktab* in 1884 in Bahchasaray.[4] As mentioned before, his attempt to apply a new method of teaching the alphabet (*usûl-i jadîd*) became very productive.

[1] Tontarî, 493.
[2] Sharaf, 110.
[3] Cafer Seydahmet Kırımlı, 104-105.
[4] Ibid., 106.

The champion of reforming the madrasah was 'Âlimjan Barudî, the Tatar thinker and pedagogue, who achieved what Marjanî attempted but failed to do. His Muhammadiya Madrasah, opened in 1901 in Kazan, became the ideal school that reformists had long yearned for. This madrasah ended the teaching of scholastic theological subjects (*kalâm* and *mantiq*) which the reformists strongly opposed.

The regulations of the Muhammadiya Madrasah[1] suggest that it was a quite modern school regarding its organization and curriculum. The latter included Arabic, Turkî, and Russian, geometry, geology, modern logic, political history, philosophy, pedagogy, and knowledge of economics as well as what jadidists call "true Islamic sciences" such as the Qur'an and its interpretation, hadith, history of Islam, and ethics.[2] It consisted of a reformed elementary school (*maktab-i ibtidaî*), a Middle School (*rüshdiya*), and High School (*i'dâdiya*), and Higher Education (*'âliya*).[3] Thus, Barudî was successful in going beyond the old classification of maktab-madrasah and in organizing the school system along modern lines.

One of the basic services of this reformed and somewhat Western-oriented school was the training teachers for newly opening *usûl-i jadîd* schools. Besides this school there were three other reformed madrasahs that were founded with similar organization and purposes: Husayniya Madrasah in Orenburg, Madrasa-i 'Âliya in Ufa, and Bubî Madrasah in Vyatka.[4]

After the first Russian revolution (1905), an interesting development occurred among the students of the Muhammadiya Madrasah. The influence of Kazan University and its circles found its way into the Muslim quarter of the city. Especially among the students of the reformed the Muhammadiya Madrasah, there was contact with Russian intellectual thought.[5] With the 1905 revolution students found an opportunity to express their new ideas and dissatisfaction with the madrasah education and requested certain changes.

Of course, this cannot be explained by the influence of Russian thought only. Thus, there was no movement among the students of the old-style madrasahs, and there must have been some influence from these reformed madrasahs on their students. This was probably because of its semi-modern curriculum.

In the qadimist view, the students were becoming atheists ("*talâbälär dinsizländi*"). Naturally, they blamed the jadidists for this outcome and, in a

[1] "Madrasa-i Muhammadiya Nizamnamäsi," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 8 (1906): 236-46.
[2] Ibid., 236-46.
[3] "Sänä 7 April 1907/7 Räbi' al-ävväl 1325 Madrasa-i Muhammadiyadä bashlanajaq Imtihan jädväli," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 8 (1906): 144-45.
[4] Battal-Taymas, *Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından III: Âlimcan Barudî*, 19-20.
[5] Ibid., 24.

way, this event proved their argument that jadidists posed a dangerous threat to Islam. Muslim Tatars previously had been able to protect their community by isolating themselves from any outside threat. But now, the jadidists had opened a Pandora's box (with their new schools and ideas) and even the jadidists themselves proved unable to control it.

Students of the Muhammadiya madrasah revolted against their more conservative reformer, the administrator of the madrasah Barudî and demanded radical reforms. No agreement or conciliation was realized between the rebellious students and administrators, so students organized protest meetings and some of them left the madrasah. At the same time, these students (later called Islahists) established an organization called the Reform Association (*Islah Jam'iyäti*) and published as its organ the weekly journal Reform (*al-Islah*).[1] In this journal, they started to introduce classical and modern Russian literature while they closely followed the Russian press.[2] They were leftists, anti-qadimist, anti-Russian, and nationalist. They came under the influence of the Russian Social Revolutionaries and anarchists, and their radicalism went "as far as supporting terrorism."[3] Despite its extremism, this movement produced the greatest of the Tatar political leaders.[4] Also, among the Islahists were the story and theatrical works-writer Fatih Amirkhan, the comedy writer 'Ali Asgar Kemâl, and the journalist Burhan Sharaf as well as the future *Tangchïlar* Muhammad 'Ayaz Ishaqî (1878-1954) and Fuad Tuktar (18??-1938).[5]

Wealthy Tatars such as the Husaynovs (Ahmed Bay, Ghani Bay and Mahmud Bay) in Orenburg, as well as the Yuvashevs in Troysk, and Nimat Allah Qaramish in Siberia supported these reformed madrasahs.[6] In particular, Ahmed Bay gave extensive help to the Muhammadiya and Husayniya madrasahs, and it was he who initiated financial aid in order to open other jadidist schools. Because of this aid, qadimists charged him with receiving money from the Russian Orthodox missionaries in order to destroy Islam. Ironically, the missionaries also accused Ahmed Bay of illegally helping the reformed Tatar schools that had opened.[7]

Interestingly, Ahmed Bay himself was illiterate. Until the end of his life he desired to overcome this shame, but many other things came up which stopped him from completing his elementary education. He visited some European cities and wanted to establish business trade there but, because of his educational

[1] Ibid., 25.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union*, 217.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Battal-Taymas, *Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından III: Âlimcan Barudi*, 25.
[6] Ibid., 18.
[7] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakh al-Din, *Ahmed Bay* (Kazan: Vaqt Matba'asï, 1910), 32.

barrier (his not knowing a single word of any other language) he had to give up this idea. It is possible that this handicap motivated him to help his fellow countrymen to get a better quality of religious and worldly education.

These jadidist-supporting Tatar merchants were both conservative and progressively minded. They were pious and mostly less-educated people but at the same time, because of their outside connections, they must have come into contact with ideas such as the importance of supporting their own community as a kind of nationalist feeling developed among them.

Czarist government policy toward these reformed madrasahs was not favorable. The government preferred and tolerated old-style Tatar madrasahs, whereas it acted intolerantly and with suspicion toward the new madrasahs. Occasionally, czarist police inspected the curriculum of these institutions, and if they found any evidence of action contrary to government principles they exiled the madrasah administrations and sometimes even closed down the madrasah.[1] Qadimists also contributed to the harassment of these schools with their reports and complaints against them.[2]

In 1908, the Russian government arrested Barudî and exiled him to the north, to the city of Vologda. After Barudî's exile (1908), however, other jadidists such as Ahmedjan Mustafa and Shahar Sharaf continued the Muhammadiya madrasah. A few years later, in 1911, other major pedagogues and owners of madrasahs, such as the Bubî brothers, 'Abd Allah and 'Ubayd Allah Bubî were arrested and imprisoned, and their madrasah was closed.[3]

Besides administrating the madrasah, Barûdî published the bimonthly jadidist journal *Al-Din va'l-Adab* (Religion and Education). This journal, which was a kind of organ for the Muhammadiya madrasah, included many articles about the necessity for madrasah reform. The first issue appeared with the date 17 March 1906, in Kazan. Most of the articles were written by Barudî, and it seems clear it was published by and depended on the efforts of a single person (Barudî). Other writers were mostly from the Muhammadiya Madrasah. Every issue starts with Barudî's translation and interpretation of a selection from the Qur'an and many anonymous articles with no signatures (probably written by Barudî himself).

One article asserted that the Muslims of Russia resembled those of India in the sense that both were under foreign rule, and claimed that Muslims educated in British schools were alienated from their fellow Muslims (like Russian-educated Muslims). Seeing this alienation, an Indian scholar, Sayyid Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) served his nation by establishing a "national" (millî) school.

[1] Battal-Taymas, *Âlimcan Barudi*, 21.
[2] Ibid.
[3] A. Arsharuni, and H. Z. Gabidullin, *Ocherki Panislamizma i Pantyurkizma v Rossii*, 106-107.

This article suggested that the Muslims of Russia should learn from the example of Indian Muslims.[1]

Al-Din va'l-Adab also included articles related to jadidist concerns such as the future of the Tatar language (advocating for the unity of the Turkic languages).[2] Interestingly, there is one article expressing a favorable opinion about *kalâm*. Keeping in mind the jadidist anti-*kalâm* attitude, Barudî's permitting such an article to appear is surprising and perhaps points to Barudî's having a conservative tendency. As it will be seen below, he does indeed differ from Rizâ al-Din or Bigiyef in terms of his more conservative stance.

There are also articles related to women's issues: the problem of women's Islamic covering (*hijâb*), polygamy (*ta'addud*), and men's right to divorce (*talâq*). Obviously Christian missionary attacks on such points provoked these defensive concerns.

Another interesting point about this journal is its close contact with Middle Eastern reformers and their journals. It is clear from the articles that its publisher closely followed writings in Lebanese-Egyptian journals such as *al-Hilâl* (founded by Christian Arab writer Jurji Zaydan and first appearing in 1892), *al-Muqtataf* (founded in 1876 by two teachers of the Syrian Protestant College),[3] and *al-Manâr* (founded in 1897 by the conservative *salafî* reformer Rashid Ridâ)[4] closely. They consulted with their Middle Eastern counterparts on certain issues by publishing letters in their journals.[5] The journal was particularly interested in the life stories of 'Abduh,[6] al-Afghanî, and Sayyid Ahmed Khan in these Middle Eastern journals,[7] and it is clear that jadidists were heavily influenced by the ideas of these men.

Compared with Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din, Barudî represents the most conservative aspect of jadidism. He was born in 1857, in the village of Kächi Qaval, Kazan and studied in the Göl Boyu Madrasah, in the northwest of the city of Kazan. His father was a merchant in the city of Kazan, in the famous Pichän Pazarï, in the heart of Tatar conservatism. In 1874 Barudî went to Bukhara and studied there for seven years. According to his own account, he

[1] "Assäyyid Jamâl al-Din al-Afghanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 4-5 (1906): 120-23; 135-39.
[2] Ahmedjan, "Ittihâd-ï Lisân=Til Birligi," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 12 (1906): 372-73.
[3] Hourani, 246.
[4] Ibid., 226.
[5] "Al-Manâr Mäjälläsindä olan Shaykh Muhammad Najib Tontarîning Ikhtilaf-i Zävjäyn Mâddäsindä Olan Suâl vä Fikri vä Sâhib-i al-Manârnïng Javâbï," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 9-10 (1906): 278-80; 308-10.
[6] "Al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 7, 8, 9 (1906): 209-12; 248-53; 281-85.
[7] "Tärbiyäning Tä'siri vä Mäkâtib-i Räsmiyä-i Milliyä Gäräk mi?," *Al-Din va'l-Adab* 1: 6 (1906): 173-81.

was drawn to the city's rich libraries, where he found the books of the early Muslim scholars and enjoyed reading them.[1]

Unlike most jadidists, he never complained about Central Asian madrasahs. On the contrary, he loved Bukhara and the Bukharan life style and said "the seven years I spent in Bukhara [1874-81] were the best years of my life."[2] Although he criticized religious, ethical and educational defects, in general, he liked the respectful attitude of Central Asians toward knowledge, and he adored the historical climate of the region and its madrasahs.[3] He returned to his home with book-laden camels.

Another indication of his conservatism is his extreme attachment to Sufism. He promoted this attachment to such an extent that in his forties he became a sufî shaykh.[4] His being both a jadidist and a Sufi shaykh puzzled some later jadidists, causing them to interpret his case differently. Tatar literary historian Jamâl al-Din Validî never believed that Barudî was a real shaykh. He commented that Barudî wanted to be more presentable to the rich Tatar merchants who were helping his madrasah financially.[5] However, Barudî's biographer, Battal-Taymas, does not agree with this interpretation on the ground that Barudî would not condescend in order to get such advantages.[6] Battal-Taymas believed that Barûdi reconciled his jadidism with Sufism. According to Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, Barudî became involved with Sufism when he was in Bukhara where Sufism was prevalent. Judging from his readings and meetings in Bukhara, Barudî must have come to the conclusion that Sufis of the past and present were the ones who represented the highest qualities in Muslim societies.[7]

The growing dissatisfaction and discomfort among madrasah students and their decreasing interest in religious subjects at the turn of the century was of deep concern to the religious reformers. Some students of the madrasahs already recognized the gap between modern developments and the inadequacy of even the reformed madrasahs.[8] The revolt of the students of the Muhammadiya Madrasah and their demands for more radical reforms seems to have alarmed the moderate reformers such as Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din. To keep these students within an Islamic framework, therefore, became a fundamental concern for the Tatar reformists. As a solution to counter this problem, Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din started a series of translations from Arabic and Persian. In

[1] *Zaman Kalindarï 1910* (Kazan: n.p, [1910]: 24-25.
[2] Battal-Taymas, *Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından III: Âlimcan Barudi*, 12.
[3] Ibid., 11-12.
[4] Ibid., 23.
[5] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 55-56.
[6] Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Âlimcan Barudi*, 23.
[7] Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, *Damolla 'Âlimjan al-Bârûdî* (Kazan: Sharaf Matba'asï, 1907), 56-57.
[8] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Ädäbiyat-ï 'Arabiyä*, 38.

doing this, reviving the Islamic classics, the reformists aimed at the following goals:

1. To convince students and intellectuals that the Islamic intellectual tradition is compatible with modern ideas and thoughts. Madrasah students should not deny their own heritage and be admirers solely of the European intellectual tradition. The reformists insisted on depicting Muslim thinkers as rationalists and free thinkers.

2. To provide support from the Islamic heritage for their revivalist ideology, they attempted to find in the books of Ibn al-'Arabî and al-Ma'arrî an ideological basis for their thinking. They saw both Ibn al-'Arabî and al-Ma'arrî as rejecting indulgence in theological discussions, criticizing corruption in society, and condemning blind obedience to either the religious or worldly authorities. In a way, the reformists found parallels for modern ideas such as freedom, equality, and representative government in the Islamic heritage.

3. To give dynamism to their students' thinking. Instead of dealing with outdated theological discussions, the students would be able to use their minds and develop their own thinking. In this way, the mentality of imitation, a defect common among the madrasah students, would disappear naturally.[1]

Bigiyef was very much inspired by the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabî and al-Ma'arrî, the latter very critical of imitation (*taqlîd*), *mutakallimûn* and narrow-minded *fuqahâ'*. In his poetry al-Ma'arrî severely criticized social and political injustices, and defended reasoning against the dominance of the religious authorities. These ideas were very attractive to Bigiyef because they provided him with strong ideological support. Interestingly, al-Ma'arrî also became a focus of attention and admiration for the positivist thinker Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932) in Turkey and the secular modernist Taha Husayn (who wrote the first Ph.D. dissertation accepted by an Egyptian University on al-Ma'arrî.)

In this context, Bigiyef published *al-Luzûmiyyat* of al-Ma'arrî, the *Divan* of Hâfiz, *al-Muwafaqat* of Abû al-Qâsim al-Shâtibî (1144-1193), and *al-Muwatta'* of Malik b. Anas[2] Bigiyef argued that al-Shâtibî's *al-Muwafaqat* could serve as a methodology book. Thus, Bigiyef indicated his intention to show an example from the methodology of Islamic Law to 'ulamâ' and students of Russia. In this work, Bigiyef claimed that the practical aspect of the Islamic *fiqh* (*mu'âmalât*) that is general and personal rights, the aspects related to the issues of ruling and government, are not so well researched in the fiqh books so far written. In the contemporary period, because of lack of able scholars, some Muslim states had already abandoned Islamic law and adopted European laws. Bigiyef advocated

[1] Ibid., 41-42.
[2] Abû Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Mûsa al-Shâtibî, *Al-Juz Awwal min Kitâb al-Muwafaqat*, translated by Mûsa Bigiyef (Kazan: Tipo-Litografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta, published by Sabah Kütübkhanäsi, 1909.)

reforming Islamic law. He accused *fuqahâ'* of inaction. In order to overcome this shortcoming, he claimed, Muslims needed free thinking *fuqahâ'* who has knowledge of modern sciences and a methodology of *fiqh*.

Rizâ al-Din took a similar initiative by writing biographies of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-'Arabî, al-Ghazzâlî, al-Ma'arrî, and Ibn Rushd. As Bigiyef put it, his goal in reviving the Arab classics was to disseminate the ideas of wisdom, philosophy, heroism, and freedom among the Muslims, and by doing so he hoped to activate the minds of the students.[1] He translated selections from al-Ma'arrî's *al-Luzûmiyyat*, a poetry book reflecting the writer's philosophy regarding freedom of thought and criticism of the ideas of the *mutakallimûn*. Rizâ al-Din joined him in this activity by writing monographs of past Muslim thinkers, while the mufti Khwaja Mahmud Behbudî (1874-1919) and Shahar Sharaf praised his initiative and supported him with their writings in Tatar and Uzbek periodicals.[2]

Nevertheless, Bigiyef and Rizâ al-Din were selective in their revival of the Arabic classics. For example, Bigiyef carefully avoided the controversial ideas of Ibn al-'Arabî such as the issue of pantheism (*wahdat al-wujûd*), choosing rather such of his ideas as were in conformity with *salafî* ideology.

Despite the obstacles that the qadimists put in the path of the activities and ideas of Marjanî and his followers, the latter were extremely influential. It is difficult to estimate with precision the degree of Marjanî's influence on the public. However, he certainly gave momentum to the new generation and prepared them for profound enlightenment. Although the increasingly backward, closed society of Bukhara in the nineteenth century help explain Tatar disenchantment with Bukhara, Marjanî's constant attack on Bukharan education had its share in changing the focus of Tatar educational interest from Bukhara to Istanbul and Cairo. Moreover, Marjanî helped to turn the attention of the new generation to the Tatar past and to secular sciences. The leading figures of the subsequent reformist movement could put their ideas into practice more easily because Marjanî had prepared the ground for them.

Marjanî's madrasah, not radically different from the old ones, does not seem, however, to have had much impact on the Tatars. Instead, it was the enthusiasm of the reformists, their discussions and writing activities that gave a new direction and created fresh goals for the new generation.

Another impact was that madrasah graduates began to have more variety in choice of profession. In the old days, a madrasah graduate had only the opportunity of becoming an *imam* or *mudarris* in a village or a quarter of a city. But now some of them became writers, journalists, or teachers in the reformed

[1] Ibid., 41-42, 57.
[2] Ibid., 41-42.

madrasahs. These new careers must have changed their attitudes. At least, the reformists themselves underwent transformation in the new era that they had created. The jadidists' cultural and educational activities also contributed to greater political awareness among the Tatars which will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter V

THE POLITICAL AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE KAZAN TATARS (1904-1917)

A petition presented by the Muslims of St. Petersburg to the czarist Council of Ministers in 1904 stated:

> Our religion places an important duty on our shoulders: To obey the King of Heaven (*Gök Padishahï*) [God] unconditionally. Our Prophet said that "the king of earth (*yär padishahï*) is the shadow of the King of Heaven." Therefore, these injunctions of Islam protect us from yielding to the supporters of liberalism, ordering us to obey fully the laws of the state.[1]

The content of this petition perhaps should not be taken literally. It could represent, for example, a Tatar ploy to gain more rights by peaceful means. There seems to be some truth in this argument. Thus, following this introduction, the petition continued with daring and unprecedented demands, namely the removal of obstructive measures by the government and the orthodox missionary institutions concerning the conduct of Muslim religious affairs. The petition also requested more authority for the mufti in matters such as being able to meet with the czar without an intermediary.[2]

This petition and other evidence suggests that in the early twentieth century Kazan Tatars developed a fairly strong, though usually carefully expressed, sense of their political consciousness. Despite some radical tendencies, the major jadidist line regarding political and national activities remained within the peaceful and conciliatory context.

Ideas regarding national and political aspirations penetrated among the Muslims of Russia basically from Islamic and Russian channels and helped jadidists to formulate their own version of political expression. The idea of pan-Islamism reached the Tatars by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For instance, Middle Eastern reformers such as the Syrian 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibî (1849-1903) propagated the idea of opposing tyranny and organizing meetings to unite Muslims. These ideas found receptive ears among the jadidist intelligentsia. At least Gaspirali, Bigiyef and Ziya al-Din Kemâlî were aware of al-Kawakibî's ideas. Furthermore, Bigiyef even claims that al-Kawakibî's book

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[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï,* 152.
[2] Ibid.

Mother of Cities (*Umm al-Qurâ*), proposed the organization of a large conference to unite Muslims and inspired a movement among the Muslim intellectuals of Russia.[1] Like al-Afghanî and 'Abduh, al-Kawakibî pointed out that later Muslim rulers used religion to strengthen their absolute authority and encouraged unquestioning submission to authorities ('ulamâ' or *sultan*). Such absolute submission, al-Kawakibî believed, caused corruption in a society and consequently the Muslim decline.[2]

A second channel of penetration of modern concepts and values such as "nation" and "nationalism" came mainly through Russian channels. In fact, some researchers claim that pan-Slavism served as a model for pan-Turkism.[3] It was Gaspirali who transposed the ideas of Slavophiles into pan-Islamic and pan-Turkist goals. During his early upbringing and his study as a military cadet in Moscow he came into close contact with pan-Slavic ideas.[4] He met with the famous Slavophile Mikhail N. Katkov (1818-1887) and also become interested in the works of populist and Western nationalists.

It is known that Slavophiles' ideas included anti-Turkish feelings. Nevertheless, Gaspirali's pan-Turkism does not, obversely, carry anti-Russian feelings. On the contrary, during his life, Gaspirali advocated cooperation with the liberal Russians as well as being a loyal Muslim citizen of the Russian state. He expressed this attitude with these words: "Brothers, let's make an effort in the matter of educating people. With the help of enlightened Russians, let's discuss the best way to accomplish these affairs."[5]

Through his "good" behavior toward the authorities and Russian laws, he was able to publish and keep alive the most edifying Muslim newspaper, *Tarjüman*, for more than three decades (1883-1918). Also, during his participation in the Muslim congresses as the "father of the nation," he always avoided any unlawful activity against the government. He convinced many Russians that enlightening Muslims would be beneficial for both Muslims and the Russian government, although some Russians always regarded his activities with suspicion.

Between 1904 and 1917 political and national consciousness developed among the Muslims to such an extent that Muslims moved from being obedient subjects to a nation claiming autonomy. During this era, the Muslims of Russia, for the first time in their history, succeeded in getting together (at least on the elitist level) to talk about their problems, organize a united political leadership,

[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Büyük Mävzûlarda Ufaq Fikirlär*, 97-98.
[2] Hourani, 271-72. Al-Kawakibî strongly opposed Ottoman sultan Abdulhamid's regime (1876-1908) and even wrote a book on that: *Taba'i' Istibdâd* (Cairo, n.d.)
[3] Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, 38.
[4] Cafer Seydahmet Kırımlı, *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey*, 13.
[5] Ibid., 29-30.

and attempt to unify a single Turkic language, religious leadership, and political program. Other than this, the jadidists took big steps by removing gender inequalities such as men's right to divorce and marry more than one wife. Despite the opposition of the qadimists, participants in All-Russian Muslim meetings reached decisions to provide equal rights for women in every aspect of life -in voting, testimony, inheritance, divorce, educational opportunities, and participation in social life. All these events and activities suggest a jadidist victory in achieving their religious, educational, and political goals.

Examination of the discussions and concerns of the All-Russian Muslim Congresses, as described in the sources, reveals that almost all political activities of the jadidist intellectuals between 1904 and 1917 concentrated on a common goal: strengthening the Muslim community of Russia, and doing so by peaceful means. Thus, jadidists aimed at removing restrictions imposed upon the scattered Muslims of Russia by establishing a political party, using the press, disseminating education, cooperating with liberal Russians, and particularly promoting unity among Muslim groups. In order to achieve this unity, first and foremost they tried to strengthen the *Sobranie* and turn it into a political body.

Various authors presented jadidist 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov, the chief organizer and promoter of political activities, as the extremist among the jadidists. Therefore, it is important to test these claims as well as to inquire into Ibrahimov's upbringing. According to his own account, his ancestors came from Bukhara (*Buharî*).[1] His great-grandfather 'Abd al-Rashid Baba Akhun was one of those Muslims of Siberia who obtained permission from the Russian government to establish mosques and madrasahs in Tara Kal'asï in Siberia to spread Islamic religion further among the Kazakhs.[2] His grandfather Ibrahimbay was a wealthy merchant. On his return from making his pilgrimage to Mecca, Ibrahimbay visited Damascus and Beirut, where he died.

Ibrahimov's father was involved in politics and therefore had to escape toward the East. The government arrested and imprisoned him, charging him with involvement in activity demanding separation of Siberia from Russia.

[1] 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov, *Tärjümä-i Hâlim yaki Bashïma Gälänlär* (St. Petersburg: 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimofnung Äliktriq Matba'asï, n.d), i. This probably means the Khanate of Bukhara, not necessarily the city of Bukhara. The language (Tatar) of his autobiography indicates a heavy influence of Ottoman Turkish. It is clear from his autobiography that he read Russian orientalist sources extensively. The striking point about Ibrahimov's autobiography, which includes his early life (1851-85), is that this research found no sources which used this invaluable work, except a master's thesis (İsmail Türkoğlu, "Rusya Türklerinden Abdürreşit İbrahim (1857-1944)," M. A. thesis, Marmara University, Istanbul, 1993.)
[2] Ibrahimov, *Tärjümä-i Hâlim...*, v. Ibrahimov mentioned that he held a document issued by the Russian government in 1783.

During his fugitive life and imprisonment he exhausted the wealth he had inherited, and suffered from poverty and heavy drinking in his old age, but he never stopped his religious fervor. In Ibrahimov's own words: "He [his father] never quit praying, no matter how drunk he became,"[1] thus going against the Koranic verse prohibiting prayer while a person was drunk.[2] It was Ibrahimov's father who changed the family name "Akhun" to "Ibrahimov". The son ('Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov) wanted to return to the old family name "Akhun," but he could not get permission from the government: "at one time, I wanted to get rid of this tail "ov"... but I was refused."[3]

'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov was born on 23 April 1857 in Tobol province at Tara. He studied at a maktab in the village of Uvush. In 1867, his mother, who was a Bashkort and a teacher herself,[4] sent him to a poor Bashkort village, Elmän in Orenburg where he stayed for four years and studied.[5] In 1877, he went to Kazan to study in a famous Qashqar Madrasah (Qashqar was a village near Kazan). "Compared with our village madrasah," he said "this madrasah was like a university,"[6] and gave a lively account of madrasah life.[7]

Like his father, he had a prison experience. This occurred when, in 1878, he went to Kazan in order to extend his passport, but was incarcerated (this was the year that the Russian-Turkish war was in process and the Russians were suspicious of Tatars who had no valid passport). They transferred him from one prison to another, a total of six or seven different places across Russia, and he stated, "it is not wrong to say that prisons served as a school for me."[8] Indeed it was in there that he started to learn the Russian language and to familiarize himself with the political and social issues of Russian everyday life.

After his release, he traveled among the Kazakhs where he became acquainted with their customs and served them as a teacher.[9] From then on, traveling became his lifetime profession: in 1870 he went to Istanbul, to Mecca, where he studied, then in 1884 returned to his home Tara, got married, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned to Tara in 1885. After participating in political activities between 1904 and 1910, he left Russia forever, traveling in Turkey, Germany, finally ending up in Japan, where he died in 1944.

[1] "Nä qadar sarhosh olursa olsun namazï hich tärkätmäzdi." Ibrahimov, *Tärjümä-i Hâlim...*, vi-vii, 3.
[2] The Qur'an 4: 43.
[3] Ibrahimov, *Tärjümä-i Hâlim...*, viii.
[4] Ibrahimov's mother, Afïfa bint-i Ibrahim bin Jafar, served as a teacher for forty years and was respected greatly by the women of Tara. (Ibrahimov, 2.)
[5] Ibid., 3-6.
[6] Ibid., 12.
[7] Ibid., 12-15.
[8] Ibid., 31.
[9] Ibid., 36-53.

1. The Role of the Jadidist 'Ulamâ'

It was Ibrahimov who closely followed the meetings of the liberal Russian politicians and was interested in the Zemstvo [Congress] decisions, which he must have seen were best suited to benefit the Muslims. The private Zemstvo met from November 6-8, 1904 in St. Petersburg, and made decisions to improve public and government life. The congress demanded the implementation of freedom of conscience and religion as well as freedom of speech and press, and freedom of assembly and association.[1] Ibrahimov took the printed copy of the Zemstvo decisions and went to the newly-appointed Minister of Interior, Peter D. Svyatopolk-Mirsky (1857-1914), to whom he explained the needs and problems the Muslims of Russia faced. The Minister asked him to report the wishes of Muslims officially. Ibrahimov, therefore, went to Kazan, Chistay, Ishbobinsk, Perm, and Ufa, meeting the most respected individuals of Ufa and finally succeeded in organizing a meeting of sixty wealthy and distinguished fellow religionists.[2]

An Imperial *ukaze* of December 12, 1904 dealing with plans for the improvement of the social order opened a new phase in the life of the Muslims of Russia.[3] This *ukaze* included articles declaring religious freedom for all nations living in Russia. It ordered "immediate administrative action for the issuance of measures necessary to free religious life from all limitations." This *ukaze* also ordered a review of "the existing regulations that limit the rights of *inorodtsy* (persons of foreign origin) and of *urozhentsy* (natives)." Furthermore the *ukaze* expressed its wishes to provide freedom of the press.[4]

Ibrahimov was urging his fellow countrymen to take urgent steps to realize these rights. Thus, under the influence of this liberal period following the 1905 revolution, Tatars dared to charge the government with having ignored Catherine II's laws concerning religious toleration toward Muslims, forcibly converting them to Christianity.[5]

At this time, 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov was preoccupied with gathering the Azeri leaders Ali Merdan Topchibashiyev (1862-1934) and Ahmed Aghayef (1869-1939), and the Tatar leaders 'Alim Maqsud, Bünyamin Ahtem at a meeting in his house on April 8, 1905.[6] Bringing all Muslims of Russia,

[1] Sidney Harcave, *The Russian Revolution of 1905* (London: Collier Books, 1970), 280.
[2] Devlet, 81.
[3] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 86.
[4] Harcave, 284.
[5] Arminius Vambery, "The Awakening of the Tartars," *The Nineteenth Century and After* 54 (February 1905): 218-19.
[6] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri. 1906 Sänä Avgust 16dan 20yä Qadar Bäsh Kün Dävam Itmish Mäjlislär Protoqolü Zabt Järidäsi* (Kazan: Matba'a-i Kärimiyä, 1906). 162.

regardless of traditional Sunnî-Shi'î differences, under a single religious leadership became the center of their discussion, and Ibrahimov proposed eliminating the historic, sectarian differences between the Sunnî and Shi'î sects.[1] Azeri leader Ali Merdan Topchibashiyev responded to this idea warmly.

Later, when he was president of the third meeting of the Muslims of Russia (1906), Topchibashiyev made an emotional speech about Muslim unity. "There should be no Sunnî or Shi'î in Islam. This conflict should come to an end and we should be proud of simply being Muslims."[2] His speech found strong support from all representatives, and at the end of the meeting they issued the following declaration: All Muslims constitute a united body. Sectarian differences are unimportant and do not constitute an obstacle to the establishment of united religious leadership (*riyâsät-i ruhaniyä*).[3] This declaration had a considerable impact on the Muslims of Russia.[4]

The rejection of sectarian differences and the unification of all sects is an idea shared by some Muslim revivalists. The Indian reformer Shah Wali Allah also sought unity and reconciliation between the Sunnî and Shi'î sects. The Tatar reformer Marjanî had advocated the necessity of ending Sunnî-Shi'a differences, and probably he was the main promoter of this idea among the Tatars. In his time, the Tatars did not regard Shiites as Muslims, and he attempted to correct this belief by issuing a religious edict (*fatwâ*) saying that Shiites are also Muslims. Following this *fatwâ*, the Muslims of Kazan began to intermarry with Iranian Shiites, and because of this initiative, traditionalist 'ulamâ' condemned Marjanî as being a "Shi'î".[5]

The other Azeri intellectual, Ahmed Aghayef, however, rejected the idea of uniting Muslims of Russia under a single Muslim Administration by pointing out the hierarchical structure of the *Sobranie*. He believed that this hierarchy resembled the Russian orthodox structure, which was something that was unnecessary in Islam.[6] Furthermore, Aghayef said the system of "ordained priesthood" (*ruhbanlïq*) is lacking in Islam, because every believer is able to become a prayer leader (*imam*).[7]

On the same days (1-15 April 1905) in Ufa another meeting, the 'Ulamâ' Council (*'Ulamâ' Jäm'iyäti*), was taking place under the leadership of mufti Muhammadyar Sultanef (1837-?). The Chairman of the Committee of Ministers, Count Sergei Y. Witte (1849-1915), had ordered the mufti to organize a meeting

[1] Ibid., 162.
[2] Ibid., 133.
[3] Ibid., 134.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Khalq Nazarïna Bir Nichä Mäs'älä*, 97-98.
[5] Ahmad Hadî Maqsûdî, "Damla Marjanî Hazrätläri," in *Marjanî*, ed. Sâlih b. Sâbit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asî, 1915), 430.
[6] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 10.
[7] Ibid., 11.

and give an official report regarding the problems faced by the Muslim community. Mufti Sultanef, therefore, summoned the 'ulamâ' of Kazan, Perm, Kasim, Simbirsk, Tümen, Ufa, Said, Moscow, Tomsk, Khan Ordasi, Verkhval, Troitsk, Sterlitamak, Noqrat, Astrakhan, St. Petersburg, Ägärchi, and Chäsmä.[1] Intellectuals (*ziyâlïlar*) were not invited to this meeting.[2] However, in addition to 39 'ulamâ', some lawyers, writers, factory owners, and certain other wealthy men joined this meeting.[3]

This was a meeting unprecedented since the establishment of the *Dukhovnoe Sobranie* in 1789, and the motive behind the prime minister's action might have been to keep Muslims under control. mufti Sultanef, like other muftis, was quite loyal to the Russian government and would not act independently on his own or on behalf of the Muslim population.

Indeed, the mufti's background does not show any kind of Islamic education. He was born at the village of Mastiva in the Menzele *uezd* of Ufa gubernia and studied in Kazan at the Imperatorskii Gymnasium. Later, he continued his education at the Imperatorskii Universitet. He served in various levels in the Russian army and advanced to the rank of second lieutenant. In 1886 he was appointed to the post of Mufti by Alexander III (1881-1894).

During the Ufa 'Ulamâ' Council some fruitless debates ensued among the 'ulamâ' showing that they were unprepared to use such an opportunity to express their opinion. It was a non-religious intellectual, Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, and Rizâ al-Din who submitted viable proposals to the meeting. Akçuraoğlu, for example, proposed autonomy for the *Sobranie*, demanding that it be given authority over mosques, maktabs, and madrasahs.[4]

It seems that the autonomy of the Christian Russian Orthodox Holy Synod served as a model for the Muslims, and Akçuraoğlu's proposal was for greater autonomy in religious administration, including the authorization of building mosques, and administering maktabs and madrasahs, just as Russian elementary schools, religious seminaries and religious academies operated under the control of the Holy Synod.[5] In short, Muslims demanded more authority and freedom for their religious administration and less government involvement in it. Rizâ al-Din also proposed that the mufti's function should be one of mediation between the government and Muslim people (*millät*). He claimed also that bringing Kazakhs under the same religious administration would benefit both Tatars and Kazakhs.[6]

[1] Ibid., 15.
[2] Ibid., 51.
[3] Ibid., 108-109.
[4] Ibid., 47-48.
[5] Ibid., 48.
[6] Ibid., 79.

Kazakh *mullah*s expressed their wish to join the *Sobranie* in Orenburg ("*Orenburg Mahkämä-i Shar'iyäsinä qoshulmaq arzusundamïz*").[1] In 1905, upon hearing of the political activities of the Muslims of inner Russia, twenty 'ulamâ' and Kazakh notables went to St. Petersburg and visited 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov. "Our people sent us," they said. "We want to be with our Noghay brothers and we came here to act together with our Muslim brothers."[2] Writing in his newspaper *Tärjüman*, and proposing a program for the second Muslim congress, Ismail Gaspirali advocated that Muslims should find a way to link Kazakhs, Tajiks and Uzbeks to the *Sobranie* in Orenburg.[3]

According to Ibrahimov, Kazakhs were once under the leadership of the *Sobranie* but they separated from it by their own wish. Russia recognized Kazakhs as being Muslim during the reign of Catherine II and put all Kazakhs under the religious authority of the *Sobranie*. Catherine even issued an edict to appoint and send Tatar religious instructors (*imam*s and *mu'allim*s) among the Kazakhs. Later, these *imam*s became so tyrannical that Kazakh leaders such as Mûsa Churmanof sought a way of liberating Kazakhs from the tyranny of the *Sobranie*. It was the famous Kazakh leader Atbazar Yusuf Mullah who brought about the Kazakhs' separation from the Sobranie.[4]

As an *imam*, *mudarris*, *akhund*, member of the *Sobranie*, and the writer of several books, Rizâ al-Din seems to have been the most active member of this meeting. The mufti himself chose him as a member of the commission, and at the end of the session, the mufti praised Rizâ al-Din for his efforts.[5] The assembly accepted his proposal (*lâiha*) with some modifications.[6] Later, however, he received many letters criticizing his proposal.

In the days following the Ufa Council, a special commission focused on and debated Rizâ al-Din's proposal. Finally, the commission prepared a petition and sent it to the government demanding greater religious and educational rights and greater authority for the *Sobranie*. Some of these demands were: 1. The government should not forbid circulation of religious books regardless of where they were published (i.e. in Istanbul, Cairo, and other Islamic countries). 2. Muslim students should not be admitted to Russian schools without a certificate showing their knowledge of Islam, of their mother tongue, and an ability to write in Arabic script. (This gives a clear indication of the Muslims' consciousness of cultural-religious protection.) 3. The government should remove the ban that forbids Kirgiz, Kazakh and Turkmen students to study in Tatar maktabs and madrasahs and it should allow *imam*s and *mu'allim*s to serve

[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 165.
[2] Ibid., 165.
[3] Ibid., 205.
[4] Ibrahimov, *Tärjümä-i Hâlim*, 53.
[5] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 79.
[6] Ibid., 52.

among Kirgiz, Kazakhs, and Turkmens. (This statement suggests that the petition was not only on behalf of the Tatar cause, but of all Muslims in Russia.) 4. Muslims should have permission to publish newspapers and journals in order to defend their religion against publications attacking Islam and Muslims.[1]

Another petition demanded the cessation of interference by the Ministry of Education or Ministry of Internal Affairs in matters regarding the education of Muslims. Participants wanted the appointment and dismissal of teachers and *imam*s to be under the control of the *Sobranie*, and to ensure that the provincial authorities would no longer interfere in these matters. Establishing maktabs and madrasahs should be under the control of the *Sobranie*, and Orthodox Christian clergymen should no longer be permitted to interfere in this matter. The government should give religious rights to *Kreshen* Tatars, and formally recognize them as Muslims and let them open schools and mosques.[2] Their mufti should be chosen by Muslims.[3]

According to Bigiyef, despite its conservative and official tone, the Ufa Council formed a powerful base and marks the beginning of the social movements (*ijtima'î haräkätlär*) of the Muslims of Russia.[4] Four months after it, Ibrahimov and other jadidists decided to organize a Muslim congress at Nijni-Novgorod. They disseminated this news in the newspapers and sent invitations throughout the Russian empire. In addition, they sent letters to the respected personalities of the Caucasus, Kazakh region, and Turkistan.[5]

First All-Russian Muslim Congress, therefore, was held at Nijni-Novgorod in August 1905. Upon the withholding of government permission, Ibrahimov suggested renting a boat and holding it there under the appearance of a friendly gathering. Members were afraid of the government's reaction. A Tatar delegate from Kazan told Ibrahimov, "Rashid Efendi, let me contribute my share of cost, but I don't want to come, I am scared."[6] At the end of the trip, when their ship came close to port, members' fear increased, and Ismail Gaspirali even suggested throwing the papers that contained the congress's decision into the sea. The bravest among them, Ibrahimov, kept the responsibility and took the papers himself.[7]

At the end of this congress, the representatives decided on the following: 1. Unity (*Ittifâq*) is necessary. The Muslims of Russia should act together as a

[1] Ibid., 83.
[2] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 84-85.
[3] Ibid., 86.
[4] Ibid., 112.
[5] Ibid., 166.
[6] Ibid., 171.
[7] Ibid., 171-72.

unified body to achieve the political, social and educational reform that modern life requires. 2. In order to achieve these reforms, Muslims agree with the ideas of the liberal Russians who aimed at establishing a constitutional regime. 3. Muslims should seek to gain the same political, social and religious rights as Russians, and they should make every effort to remove the legal and practical limitations, and the discrimination that government administrators have imposed upon them. These efforts should remain within legal limits, however. 4. Muslims should make an effort to disseminate education among the people by establishing schools, libraries, and reading rooms, and by printing books, journals and newspapers.[1]

Perhaps the best result of this congress was the idea of establishing a political party, called "The alliance of the Muslims of Russia" (*Rusiya Musulmanlarï Ittifâqï*). The aim of this party would be to struggle to bring the status of Muslims' religious and political rights up to the level of the Russians' as well as to work for the social and civil advancement of Muslims.[2] Therefore, the party aimed at accelerating implementation of the religious freedom of the manifesto of 17 October 1905. The *Ittifâq* party was moderately opposed to the czarist government and followed a policy of cooperation with the liberal Russians hoping that this would benefit Muslims. The *Ittifâq* party therefore allied itself with the Russian Constitutional Democrat (Ka-det) party, and adopted its political program.[3] As professor Bennigsen stated, the establishment of such a party "was the only attempt ever made to unify all the Muslim peoples of the empire."[4]

Participants also demanded the establishment of political and religious ties among the Muslims of Russia, especially by uniting the Sunnî and Shi'î sects.[5] Naturally, this was a surprise for ordinary Muslims, and after First Congress, startling news spread among the Tatars of Nijni-Novgorod: "It looks as if the Shi'as have become Muslims!" (*"qïzïlbash khalqï Musulman bolghan ikän!"*). Most Muslims, however, welcomed this proposed alliance.

Second Congress of the Muslims of Russia (12-23 January 1906, St. Petersburg) took place unofficially in Muhammad Alim Maqsudof's house.[6] For the first time, participants discussed women's right to vote under the *shari'a*.[7] The majority of the participants, especially the 'ulamâ', expressed their disapproval. However, after a long quarrel delegates agreed upon the decision

[1] Ibid., 176-78.
[2] Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sâkin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dâir," 214-16.
[3] Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, 218.
[4] Ibid., 45.
[5] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 170-71.
[6] Ibid., 220.
[7] Ibid., 234.

that women's right to vote is in agreement with *sharia* and necessary. This issue also had a practical aspect: excluding Muslim women from participation in the election would decrease the representational power of Muslims by half. This practical necessity must have been effective in the jadidists' convincing the conservative wing.

In Third Congress (August 1906, Nijni-Novgorod) representatives wanted to change the old regulations about the Muslim men of religion (*rûhaniyät*). As for the contemporary muftis, they were inefficient and served as government agents. For example, an author criticized the current mufti, Muhammadyar Sultanef, claiming that he knew very little about Islamic subjects. A Tatar author saw that new problems arose in the rapidly changing world and Muslims needed a mufti who was able solutions to them. "Why, at such a time, do the Muslims of Russia have such leadership?" he asked, and his answer was, "because Muslims were not allowed to choose their mufti. Orthodox missionaries such as Il'minskii choose the mufti."[1]

According to contemporary practice, the government appointed a mufti and the mufti appointed the *qadis*. Hadî Atlasî proposed that Muslim men of religion must be aware of both religious and worldly affairs. He also proposed abrogating the present regulations concerning the men of religion and the *Sobranie* in order to save people from the current *qadis* and muftis. He felt that the people should choose their own mufti and members of the *Sobranie*,[2] and that the government should regard the mufti as the chief religious leader, like a Patriarch.[3]

Atlasî and other representatives regarded the qualifications of a mufti as important, because he should represent Muslims as an independent and efficient leader.[4] Gaspirali expressed the same idea as follows:

> This country is Russia! The men of religion should know more about secular and political sciences than the religious sciences... A mufti should be a religious scholar like 'Âlimjan Barudî, as well as a skilled politician like Yusuf Efendi [Akçuraoğlu]... Unfortunately, it is difficult to combine both qualities in the same person... Therefore, at least, there should be a mufti with religious knowledge and a vice-mufti with knowledge of politics and law.[5]

Third Congress also issued a declaration seeking reform of the *Sobranie*. 1. Reform should start with the *Sobranie*. 2. The people themselves should choose

[1] Sh. H., *'Ulamâ' Tarikhi: İski Musanniflär, Songï Tatar 'Ulamâ'sï häm dä Qazandaghï Masjidlär Huzurundaghï Mahallä İmamlarï. Ushandaq Hürriyätdän Song Chïqghan Musulman Järidäläri* (Kazan: Matba'a-i Kärimiyä, 1907), 55.
[2] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 20-21.
[3] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 102.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 125.
[5] Ibid., 104-105.

the muftis of Russia (Crimea, Caucasia, Orenburg, Turkistan and the Kazakh region) for a five-year period under the title of "Shaykh al-Islam." These muftis should have a good knowledge of religion as well as worldly affairs. 3. The *Sobranie* should be responsible for all the religious affairs of Muslims living in Russia such as the appointment of *imams*, *muazzins* and *mudarrises*, as well as the administration of maktabs and madrasahs.[1]

All of these discussions about redefining the role of mufti, that is freeing mufti from Russian control indicates reformists' desire for greater autonomy within the Russian empire. They wanted to transform the *Sobranie*, which functioned merely as a sluggish government tool, into an active body representing the Muslims of Russia.

An issue connected to the religious administration was the arrangement of religious affairs for Kirgiz (Kazakh) and Turkistani Muslims. Tatar leaders believed that either there should be a separate religious administration for them or they should be brought under the religious administration of Orenburg.[2]

Another development in Third Congress was the emergence of a new group besides the jadidist and qadimist groups: ultra-progressive, socialists called *Tangjïlar* came into being. They found the level of progress for the new method inadequate and wanted to take faster, more decisive steps toward progress. This group comprised a handful of youths gathered around their newspaper *Tang*. They adopted socialist ideas through the influence of the students of Kazan university. The famous 'Ayaz Ishaqî was among them. They were successful in establishing a political party, and after Third Congress, were able to enter the second Duma with five or six members.[3]

A fact often stressed in this congress was that compared with the other nationalities of the empire, the Muslims were relatively unprepared for organized political action. For example, one delegate said "our nation is backward compared to the others. Muslims know nothing about politics. We do not have enough specialized persons, save for a few among us. We should first study and learn what the political situation is, then get involved in political action." Or again, the Tatar historian Hâdi Atlasî said: "Formerly, we were uninformed people. Times have changed... Our Muslims have awakened, and action has begun [among them]."[4] However, he opposed the rapid involvement of Muslims in politics, believing that Muslims must first become enlightened, inform themselves about politics, and give their children a modern education.

[1] Ibid., 101-102.
[2] Ibid., 158.
[3] Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sâkin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dâir," 216.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 32.

Only after achieving these aims would they be prepared to deal with politics. Fuad Tuktar described such unpreparedness as follows:

> Our Muslims have no enthusiasm, and no aptitude for political affairs. Our politicians are ignorant, they have no knowledge of politics. Before dealing with politics, we have to reform our religious administration. We have many problems in religious matters... There is the problem of the new method of teaching (*usûl-i jadîdä*) and the old method of teaching (*usûl-i qadîmä*). First we should have an agreement on this issue.[1]

This and other statements clearly show that the jadidist activities during this era put more emphasis on cultural, social, and educational reforms than political ambition.

The program of Third Congress put great emphasis on responding to the attacks of those who criticized Islam, especially the Orthodox missionaries.[2] Bigiyef put great emphasis on the significance of the manifesto for the Muslims of Russia nad claimed that before the 17 October 1905 manifestation, the Russian government treated the diverse religions in the empire differently, unequally favoring Orthodox Christianity, and discriminating against other religions, including Islam. There was no freedom of conscience or of the press for the non-Christian subjects of Russia. Moreover, Muslims were legally unable to respond to the attacks of the Russian Orthodox missionaries.[3] They were unable to make a verbal or written response to these attacks.

The manifesto of October 17 which was signed by Nikolas II (1894-1917) stated the following articles:

> We make it the duty of the government to execute Our firm will: 1. to grant the people the unshakable foundations of civil freedom on the basis of genuine personal inviolability, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly, and association; to admit immediately to participation in the State Duma, without suspending the scheduled elections and in so far as it is feasible in the brief period remaining before the convening of the Duma, those classes of the population that are now completely deprived of electoral rights, leaving the further development of the principle of universal suffrage to the new legislative order.[4]

Even though the manifestation brought new liberties and removed the old deprivations in theory, in practice the restrictions on Muslims remained unchanged.[5] Furthermore, the reactionary Russian parties were pressing for a return to the old situation. The participants asserted that government itself encouraged the missionaries in their hostility toward the maktabs, madrasahs

[1] Ibid., 40.
[2] Ibid., 6.
[3] Ibid., 160.
[4] Harcave, 196.
[5] Ibid., 23.

and mosques, and Muslims experienced severe religious repression. The Third Congress sought to reverse this situation.

Furthermore, a representative proposed using the press to counter the missionary literature against Islam.[1] There was also a demand that a newspaper in Russian be published in St. Petersburg to defend the rights of Muslims.[2]

At Third Congress, delegates showed themselves even more politicized. Atlasî openly expressed his pessimism about seeking anything from the government. Ibrahimov considered Islam as a polity as well as a religion, and he opposed the ideas of some members who said there should be no politics in Islam.[3]

A debate occurred on whether maktabs should be taken away from the control of the 'ulamâ' (*rûhanîs*). Gaspirali opposed this idea, saying that despite the sluggishness of the Muslim clergy, they served to protect Muslim identity. Akçuraoğlu shared this idea saying that Armenians in Muslim countries protected their identity by maintaining their connection with their church and clergy.

Another characteristic of Third Congress was that some members, such as Ibrahimov and Atlasî, explicitly criticized the Russian government. Ibrahimov talked about the humiliation and imprisonment of Muslims in Russia.

> Muslims have not been treated like human beings... Because of government oppression they have had to leave their lands and move to other places. Those who remained in their ancestral lands experienced many kinds of tyrannies... Now, things have begun to change in Russia. The period of reform and revolution has come.[4]

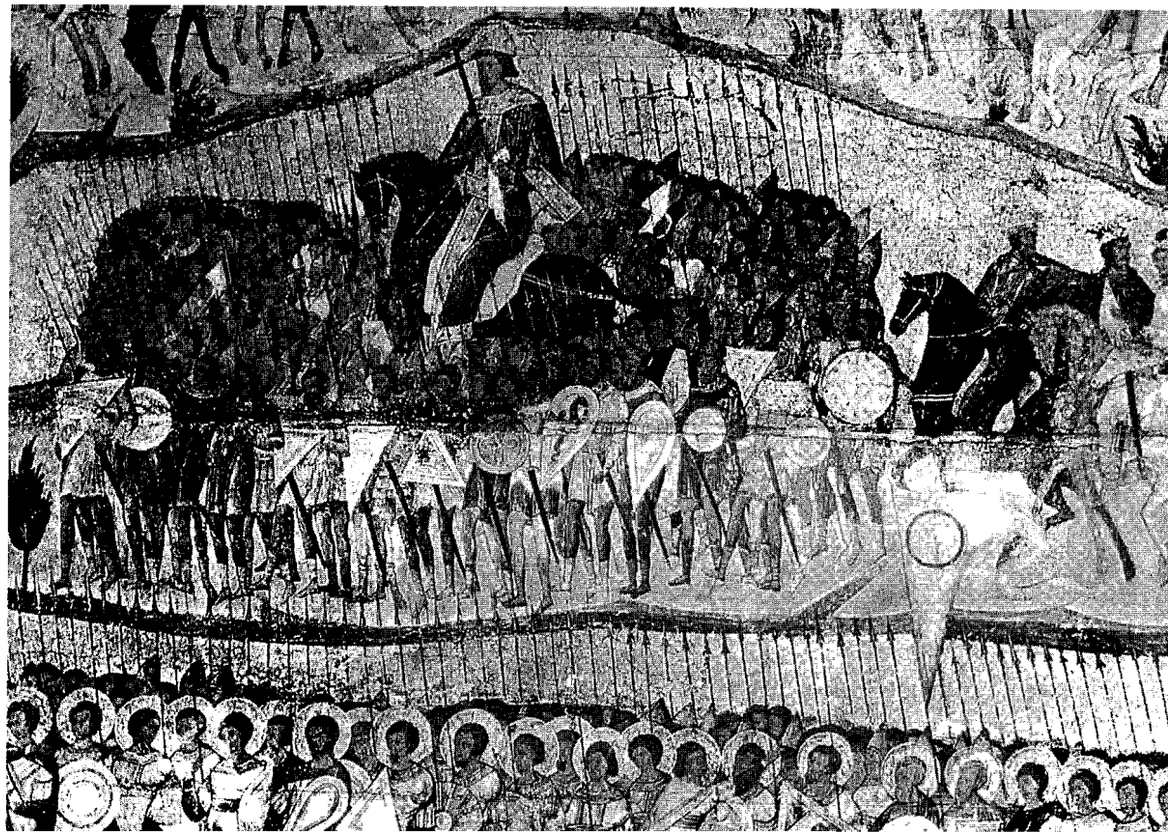
But again, even in the most extreme cases Muslim attitudes toward the Russian government do not imply any violent action. The word "revolution" for Ibrahimov and Atlasî probably meant more rapid actions toward cultural and social reforms rather than militant activism.

One of the social issues that required urgent solution came into discussion during Third Congress: women's right to vote. At the end, delegates agreed on the beneficial effects of Muslim women's rights in this respect. Furthermore, the Azeri intellectual Topchibashiyev and the Tatar 'Abd Allah Bubî, defended the equality of women as accorded to them in the *shari'a*, while not specifying what kinds of rights these were.[5] At Fourth Congress (1914, St. Petersburg) some female Muslim students from St. Petersburg University submitted a petition asking that attention be given to the education of Muslim women.[6]

[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 28.
[2] Ibid., 111.
[3] Ibid., 50-51.
[4] Ibid., 162-64.
[5] Ibid., 113.
[6] Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Millî Mücadele Tarihi*, 237-38.

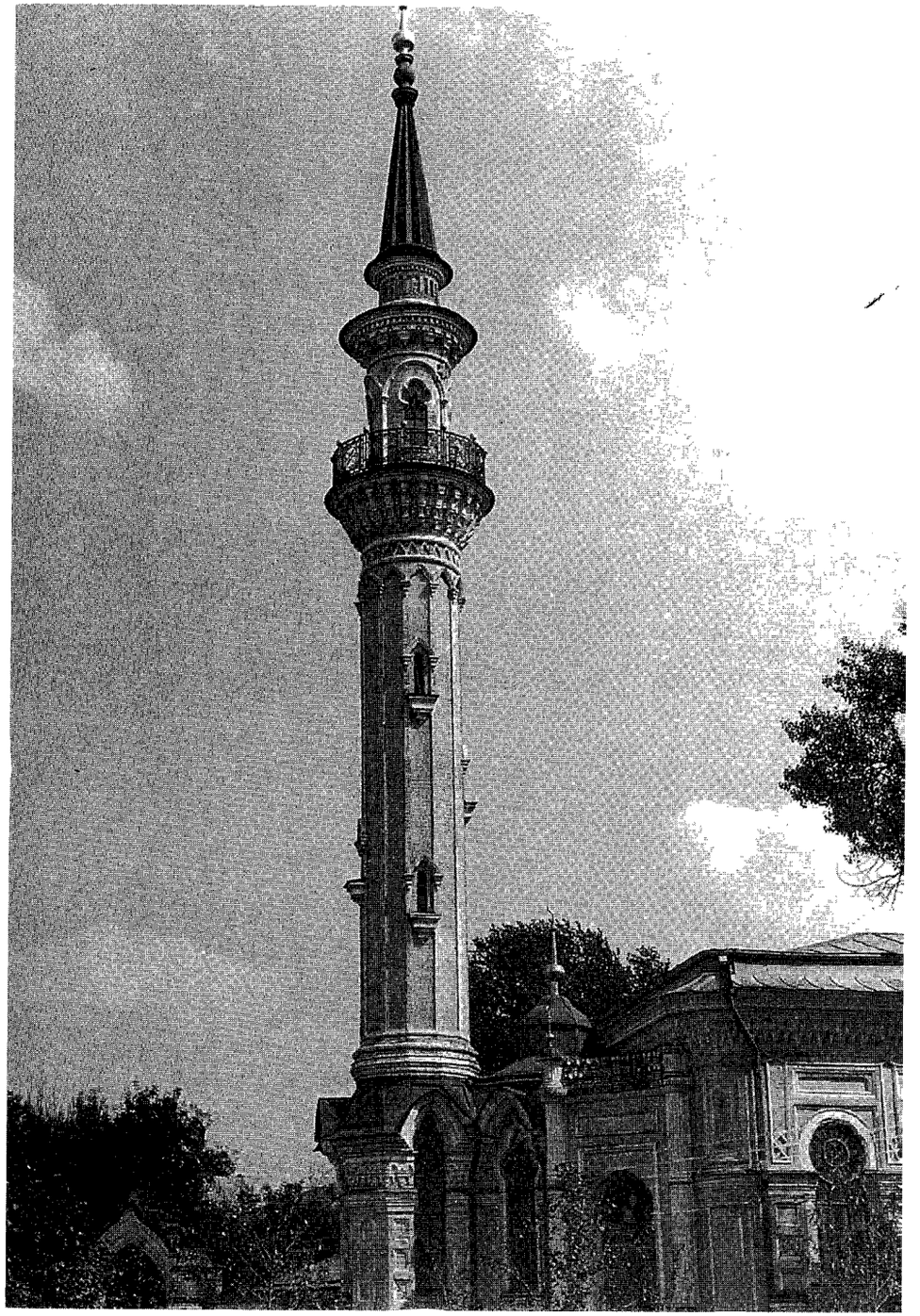
1. Kazan, formerly capital of the Tatar Khanate.

2. Ivan IV, the Terrible (1533-1584) at the siege of Kazan. 1552



3. Muslim Religious Administration, Ufa.

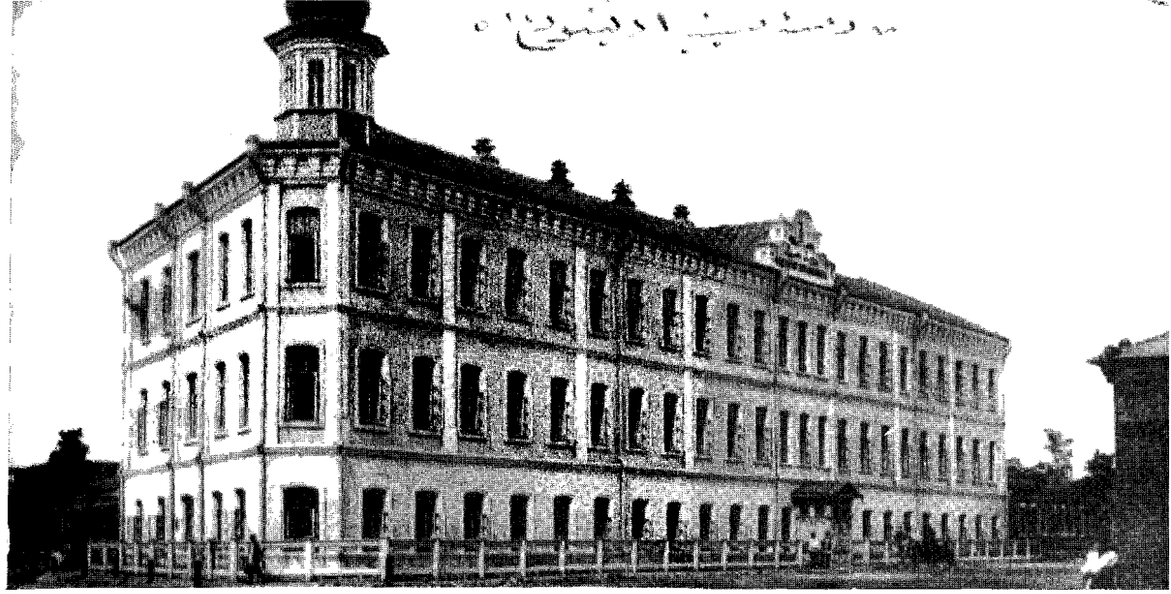
4 Another view of Muslim Religious Administration.



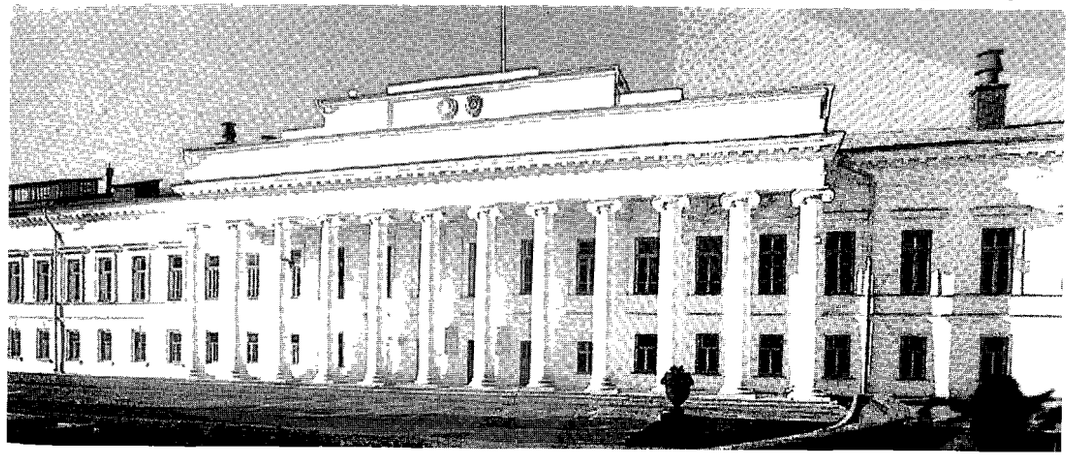
5. Mid-19th century Azimovskaya Mosque in Kazan.

6. Marjani Mosque in Kazan, built in 1766.

7. Marjani Madrasah, 1880.



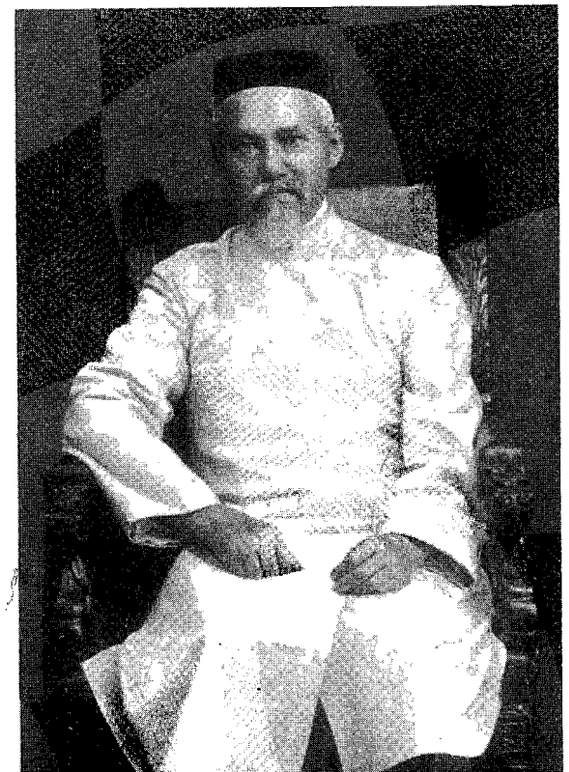
8. Husayniya Madrasah at Orenburg. Archive of Halim Sâbit Şibay.



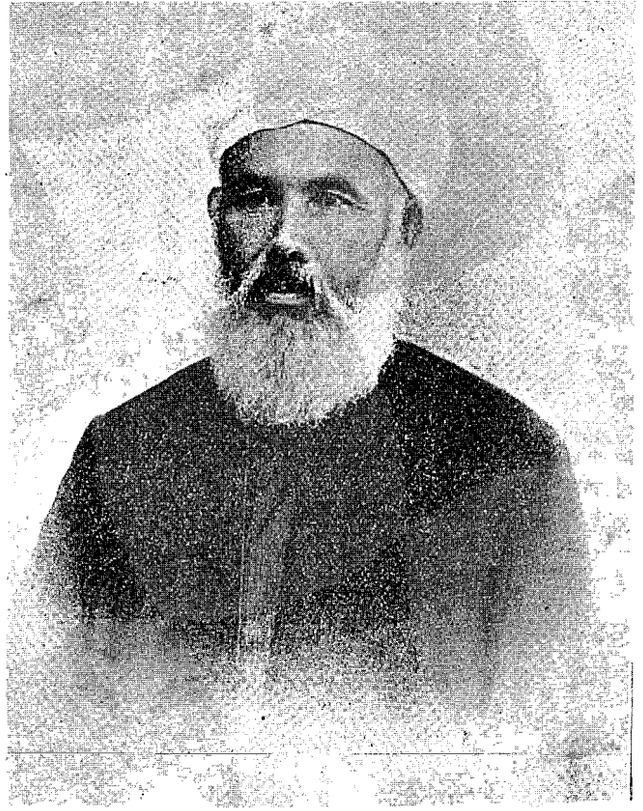
9. Kazan University, founded in 1804.

10. Another view of Kazan University.

11. Shihâb al-Din Marjanî.

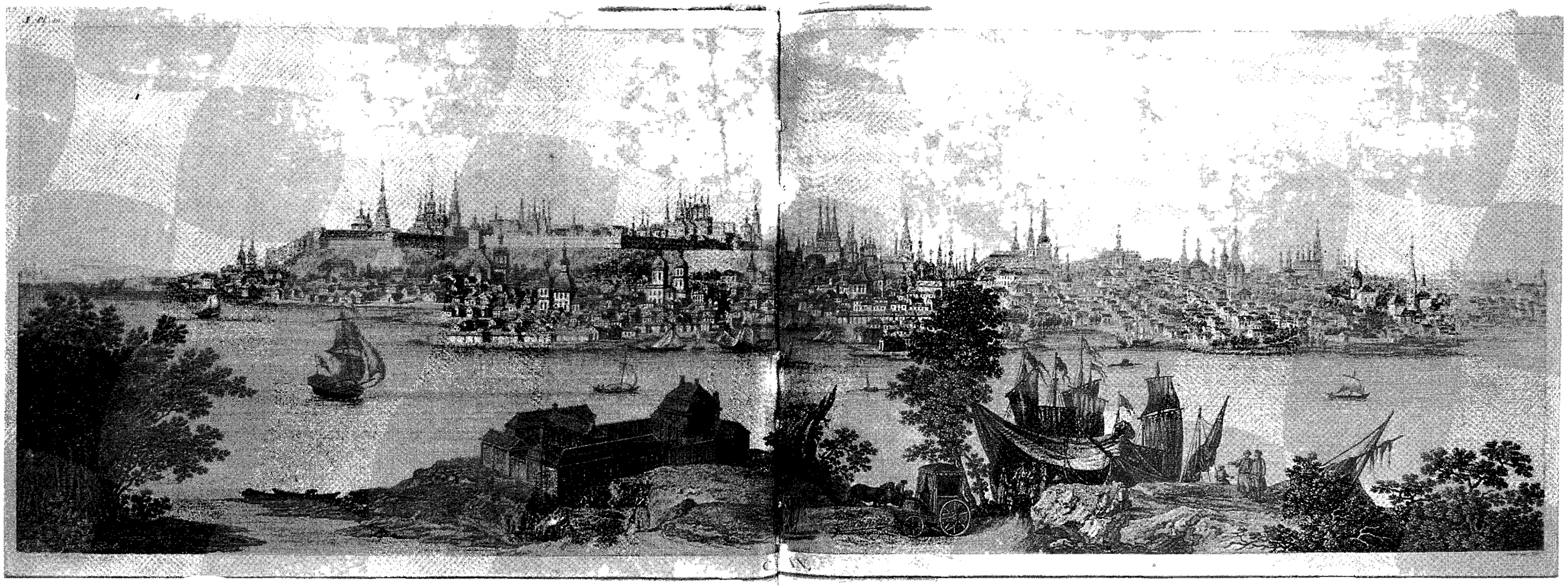


12. Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din.



13. 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov.[4]

14. 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov with his family.



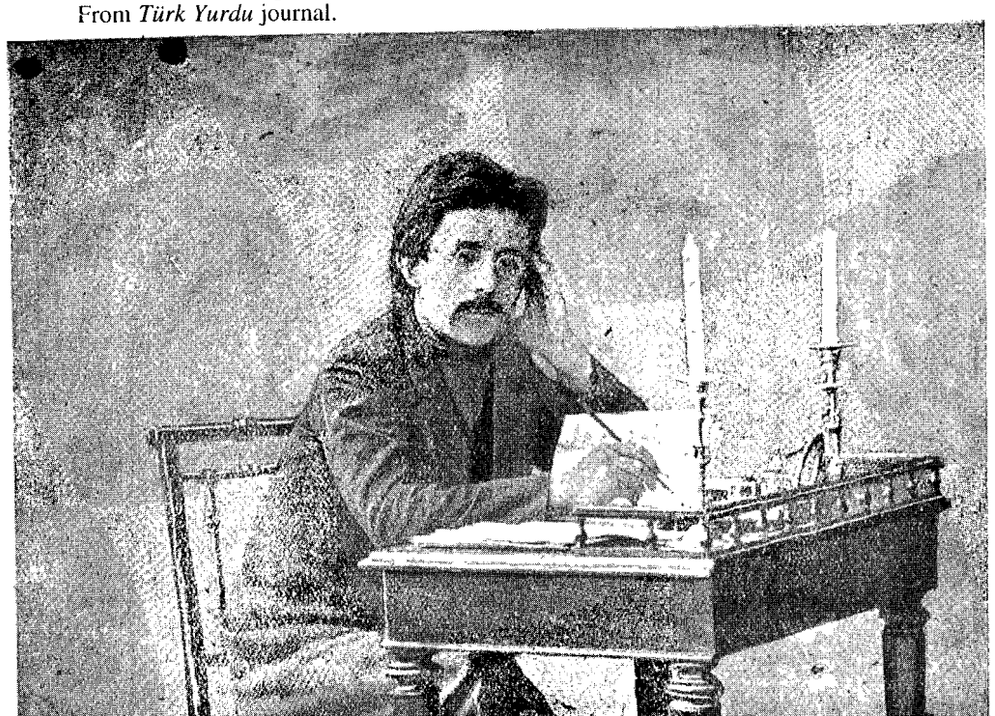
15. View of Kazan in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Engraving by Lespinas (1767).

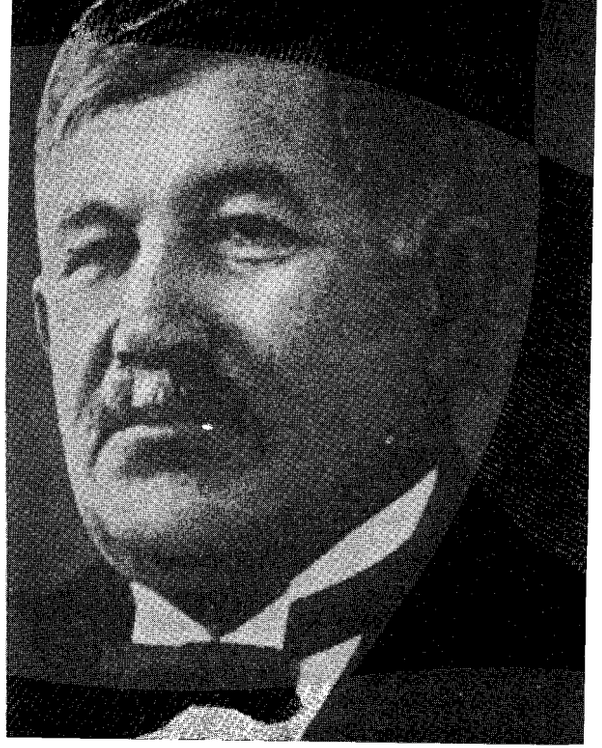
16. Ismail Gaspirali.

17. Yusuf Akçuraoğlu

18. Mûsa Bigiyef (left). Archive of Professor Nâdir Devlet.

19. Mûsa Bigiyef, "Religious Reformer of the Turks in the 14th century [of the Muslim calendar]." From *Türk Yurdu* journal.





20. Muhammad ‘Ayaz Ishaqî.

21. Fuad Ṭuktar.

22. ‘Âlimjan Barudî.

23. Amina Muhyiddinova.

25. A picture from the First Congress. 1) Fatih Kerimî. 2) 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov. 3) İsmail Gaspıralı. 4) 'Ali Merdan Topchıbasıyev.

26. A group of Kazan Tatars who were active in cultural and political life. *Front, from right to left:* Niyaz Muhammad Sulayman; Hâdi Maqsudî; 'Umar Khalfa Davlatyar; 'Abd al-Rahman Ahmar. *Back, from right to left:* Hârith Fayzi; Lutfi Ishaqî (the imam of St. Petersburg Mosque); 'Ubayd Allah Bubî; Yusuf Akçuraoğlu.

27. The Editorial Board of *Ülfät* Newspaper.

Until the biggest gathering, the First All-Russian Muslim Congress of May 1-11, 1917, discussion subjects were limited to reforming maktab-madrasahs, the *Sobranie*, and establishing a political party. The women's question came into discussion particularly when the advantage of women's voting became the issue. The real discussion of gender inequalities and decisions on this subject would take place in the May 191 / Congress. In addition, the Congress, for the first time, would discuss the issues of cultural or regional autonomy, whether the unity be based on an ethnic or strictly religious basis.

2. Unity Based on Religious vs. Ethnic Identity

Historians of the Tatar reform movement tend to put more emphasis on ethnic and secular aspects of the movement than on the religious aspect. Thus, because of some forced interpretations of the primary sources, the Tatar reformers appear as pure nationalists or secularists. The present study shows that essentially they were not. It disagrees also with the argument that the jadidist 'ulamâ' played a relatively marginal role in Tatar political thought and political activities.[1] Such a claim tends to belittle the contribution of the jadidist 'ulamâ' in political activities. The role of jadidist 'ulamâ' in the extensive meetings of the Muslims of Russia certainly suggests the opposite.

In addition, contrary to arguments characterizing the jadidist movement in the early twentieth century as a "national struggle" in an ethnic sense, the present study claims that "national" signified a rather more complicated identity. The primary sources on the political activities of the Muslims of Russia indicate clearly that these activities bore a strongly religious character. Religion played a central role in most of their debates and in their understanding of ideas such as national unity, education, administration, gender inequality or economy.

These sources also provide the accurate information needed to correct distortions present in many secondary sources, especially those regarding the identity of Tatar society at that time, and the contribution made by the Tatar religious intellectuals. Therefore, the primary sources help in clarifying the true character of the political activities of the Tatar reformers and especially the significance of the jadidist 'ulamâ' who played a vital role in the shaping of cultural and political activities. Even intellectuals such as Yusuf Akçuraoğlu and Ismail Gaspirali, non-religious Tatar reformers, had some religious concerns, and almost all demands expressed at meetings had a religious color. In what follows, the study will provide several examples of the influence of religious thought on political topics and issues.

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[1] Azade-Ayse Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1986), 104.

Islamic identity was even stronger among the Kazan Tatars in comparison with Azeris or Kazakhs.[1] Being under pressure from the conversion policies of the government and its Orthodox Church, as well as having a critical geographical position in the midst of a Christian population, Tatars differed sharply from their neighbors. The liberal reforms of Catherine II had integrated the Tatars into the Russian empire to some extent. However, the oppressive practices of subsequent governments and the attacks of Orthodox missionaries re-alienated Muslims and led them to seek contact with their co-religionists.

Therefore, the national consciousness of the Muslims of inner Russia naturally had a great degree of religious coloring because Islam played a major role in the protection of their "national" identity. But what did "national" mean for them? The secondary sources call them "Tatars," "Volga Tatars," "Kazan Tatars," "Kazan Turks," "Northern Turks," "The Turks of Russia," or "Idil-Ural Turks." However, this research found contradictions between the secondary and primary sources as to the identity of the Muslims in inner Russia.

It is clear from the sources that the nationalism of the Tatars was closely interwoven with their religious identity. For this reason, the "national struggle of the Turks of Russia" can not be isolated from the religious aspect. In such a community the importance of the religious intellectuals became inevitable and crucial. The isolating approaches of the nationalist historiographies often fall into the trap of misleading inferences such as interpreting "national" in an ethnic sense.

For instance, at Third Congress, Yusuf Akçuraoğlu said, "I think, we, too, need to organize a political unity based on the principle of nationality."[2] Here, the term "nationality" (*milliyät*) does not mean "nationality and ethnic origin" as a secondary source suggested.[3] Akçuraoğlu's following sentence makes clear that what he meant by "nationality" was "Islamic nationality" (*milliyät-i Islamiyä*), not nationality in a strictly ethnic sense.[4]

"Tatars of Russia," "Muslims of Kazan" and especially "Muslims of Russia" were the expressions Bigiyef used when referring to the group to which he belonged.[5] In the May 1917 Congress, Bigiyef called the meeting "the

[1] Alexandre Bennigsen, "Islamic or Local Consciousness among Soviet Nationalities?" in *Soviet Nationality Problems,* ed. Edward Allworth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 175.
[2] *"Bizlärä dä milliyät äsasïna mäbnî bir siyasî ittifaq täshkil ätmäk lazïmdïr gümanïndayïm."* Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnıng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri,* 53.
[3] Rorlich, 116.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri,* 53.
[5] Ibid., 175.

meeting of Muslims",[1] and in the 'ulamâ' council of 1917 representatives used the term "Muslims of the Volga basin" (*Idil boyu Musulmanlari*).[2]

The name "Tatar" is itself a confusing concept, freighted with historical and cultural meanings. It is a common error to mix the "Kazan Tatars" with the "Mongols". The name "Tatar" carries a different meanings in different times. For the fourteenth-century Muslim authors "Tatar" meant the Mongols of Chingis Khan (*ca.* 1167-1227) (Indeed, it was the Mongol conquerors who introduced the name "Tatar" into the Middle Volga Region).[3] But for the nineteenth-century Russian authors, "Tatar" meant more or less Turkic people of the Caucasia, Siberia, Central Asia, Crimea, and Kazan regions. However, it was after the Russian revolution of 1917 that gradually the name "Tatar" adhered primarily to the Kazan Tatars and the Crimean Tatars.

At the turn of the century, the reformist authors deeply reconsidered the significance of the name "Tatar". Kazan Tatars themselves held diverse opinions about what to call their community. Marjanî and Nâsirî favored using the name "Tatar"[4] while some other intellectuals suggested the name "Bulghar" and avoided using the name "Tatar" because both Russians and some Muslims associated it with negative connotations like "uncivilized, barbarian, cruel." In contrast, most of the jadidists emphasized their distinction from the Mongols of Chingis Khan. For example, a jadidist historian disowned Chingis Khan: "He was a tyrant, blood-thirsty, illiterate, and wild. He was a catastrophe for Muslims, perhaps to all civilized peoples."[5] A leading Tatar reformist gave even a clearer idea of the Tatar identity. After defining his fellow people as "the Muslims of Volga, Bulghar, Kazan, Ural"[6] Rizâ al-Din wrote:

> Chingis [Khan] and his children were not our ancestors. There is no unity of race or language between them and us. They were Mongols, but we belong to the Turkic nation... Our ancestors were town merchants. They occupied themselves with agriculture and commerce and lived in peace with all other neighboring nations. We belonged to a civilized, creative and inventive, virtuous and noble nation.[7]

The concept of Turkic or Tatar identity appeared in the early twentieth century, but blended with an Islamic identity which had overwhelming weight

[1] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng 1917 nchi yïlda 1-11 Mayda Mäskävdä Bulghan 'Umûmî Isyäzdining Protakollarï,* (St. Petersburg: Ämânät Shirkäti Matba'asï, 1917), 5.
[2] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri,* 38.
[3] Uli Schamiloglu, "The Formation of the Tatar Historical Consciousness: Sihabaddin Marcani and the Image of the Golden Horde," *Central Asian Survey* 9: 2 (1990): 40.
[4] Marjanî, *Mustafâd al-Akhbâr,* vol. 1, 6; *Islam Ansiklopedisi,* s.v. "Kazan."
[5] Muhammad Shâkir Khalfin, *Mäktäb-i Ibtidaiyä Ichün Qïskaja Tarikh-i Bulghar* (Kazan: Matba'a-i Kärimiyâ, 1907), 23.
[6] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âsar* 1, 67.
[7] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, "Mäshhur Adamlar vä Ulugh Hâdisälär: Shaykh Jamâl al-Din," *Shûrâ* 10: 23-24 (December 1917): 516-17.

up to 1917. Indeed "Muslim" usually appeared as the sole source of identity for the Tatars, while Turkic or Tatar identities rarely appeared alone. For example, at Third Congress (August 1906, Nijni-Novgorod), Gaspirali said, "We are Muslims and Turks."[1]

At First Congress (August 1905, Nijni-Novgorod), Topchibashiyev said in his speech, "We are Turks: our origin and religion is the same."[2] This was the only expression of Turkic identity used in the entire meeting. Normally, the representatives called themselves "Muslims," and up to 1917 there seems to have been no debate regarding Muslim, Turkic, or Tatar identities.

The concept of "nation" did come under discussion in the First All-Russian Muslim Congress (May 1-11, 1917), when representatives debated the possibility of a "Muslim nation." Ahmed Salihev believed that nationality should be based on belief and emotion rather than race or language.[3] For him it was belief that distinguished Muslim peoples from other groups. For Muslims, religion constitutes the basis of nationality, with language coming second in importance, he said. Therefore, it was possible to say that the Muslims of Russia formed a nation regardless of their ethnic and linguistic differences.[4]

Even though Salihev's speech found wide acceptance among the representatives present at the meeting, some nationalist intellectuals, such as the Azeri intellectual Mehmed Emin Resulzâde (1884-1954), Tatar 'Ayaz Ishaqî, and the Bashkort historian A. Z. Velidi [Togan], opposed this idea. Resulzâde said that there was no doubt that Islam created a kind of bond for its believers. But this linkage was not one of nation. It was a connection between nations such as Turk, Arab, and Persian. "As there is no Christian nation, there is no Muslim nation" he said, and believed that this situation does not stop Muslim nations from forming a federation.

> Here is the greatest and most powerful nation among the Muslim nations: the Turkic nation! (*Türk milläti*) We, Turko-Tatars, are children of this nation. We are Turks, and we are proud of that. We want to create a Turkic civilization and consciousness. The majority of the thirty million Muslims, numbering approximately twenty-nine million living in Russia, belong to this nation, the Turks.[5]

A history book for the Tatar elementary schools described the relationship of Turks to the Volga Bulghars (ancestors of the Kazan Tatars) as follows:

> Turks are one of the most ancient nations of Asia. Their original home was around the rivers Lena and Yenisey.[6] They moved from the north to the Altay mountains. They settled along the Sayhun and Jayhun rivers and divided into two groups: Uyghurs in Eastern Turkistan and Turks and Turkmens in Western Turkistan... Turks also settled along the Volga river and mixed with Finns living there. From their line a nation (*qawm*) called Bulghars came into being.[1]

[1] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 32.
[2] Ibid., 179.
[3] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng*, 102.
[4] Ibid., 103.
[5] Ibid., 118.
[6] Khalfin, 3.

Rizâ al-Din himself referred to the Kazan Tatars as "We, the Northern Turks" (*Biz Shimal Türkläri...*), and praised the Turks "Turks, the noble nation" (*qavm-i näjib Türklär*).[2]

Historian Togan called the concept of "the Muslim nation of Russia" unscholarly,[3] and differentiated the Muslims of Russia as Turks and non-Turks.[4] Despite their advocacy of a separate Turkic identity, however, these intellectuals passionately defended the idea of unity, collaboration, or federation between these ethnically separate but religiously identical peoples (*millätS*). Thus the concept of unity (*ittifâq* or *ittihâd*) was the central one on which everybody agreed.

A Kazakh representative from the Turgay region, Orazbay Aqsaqal, said: "Let us unite. We should not be Caucasian, Crimean, Tatar, or Sart."[5] Another Kazakh representative said: "Kazakh, Tatar, Noghay, let us unite and progress" (*Kazakh, Tatar, Noghay bir olub täraqqî ädäyik*).[6]

A delegate at Third Congress said: "We are all Turks and come from the same origin. However, because of time and living in different places we spread out; differences occurred in our customs and dialects to the extent that we understand one another very little. From now on our maktabs should serve our language and literature, and maktabs should be the intermediary for understanding each other." He therefore suggested that elementary school students should study their local dialect for the first three years, after which they should receive instruction in a unified [Turkic] language, so that the unity of language would thus be achieved gradually.[7] At the end of Third Congress, delegates decided to introduce a course on a unified Turkic language in all elementary and secondary Muslim schools.[8]

Gaspirali was the promoter of this idea of creating a unified Turkic language for all the Turkic groups of Russia. He claimed that if the Turkic peoples of Russia, who have various names but are essentially brothers, continue with

[1] Khalfin, 4.
[2] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Islamlar Haqqïnda Hükümät Tädbirläri* (Orenburg: Kärimof, Hüsäyinäf ve Shüräkâsïnïng Paravay Matba'asï, 1908), 4.
[3] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng*, 154.
[4] Ibid., 154-55
[5] Ibid., 46-47
[6] Mûsa Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnîng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 64.
[7] Ibid., 76-77.
[8] Ibid., 84.

their linguistic differences, they will be gradually eroded by the waves of the surrounding Slavic sea and annihilated. The friction between them should come to an end. For this reason, before anything else, the language should be unified.[1]

Until the mid-nineteenth century Arabic was the scholarly language among the 'ulamâ'. The famous Tatar reformer, Marjanî, wrote almost all of his books in Arabic. According to his own account, reported by Shahar Sharaf, one day Marjanî was asked: "You yourself are *Turkî* and your people are *Turkî*. The books you write for your people should be in *Turkî* language, so why do you write your books in Arabic?" [Marjanî] replied: "The Arabic language is known to our 'ulamâ' and students. When our books go to other countries there are probably some people who want to read them. If they were written in *Turkî* the people in other places could not benefit from them."[2]

Rizâ al-Din called the mother tongue of his people *Turkîjä* (Turkic), and referred to his mother tongue Tatar in the same way: (*ana lisanimiz olan Turkîchämiz...*).[3] The Tatar historian, Muhammad Shâkir Khalfin, called the language of the Kazan Tatars *Turkî*, saying "our language is between the Chaghatay and Ottoman and our scholars are trying to develop the language... Today the *Turkî* language has reached its perfection through the efforts of the Ottoman Turks."[4]

It is clear from the debates of the First All-Russian Muslim Congress that regionalist tendencies emerged and challenged the *Ittifâq*'s attempt to unite all Muslims or Turks of the Russian empire. The delegates became divided into two camps: 1. The Unionists, who were mainly the Muslims of inner Russia; that is, largely the Kazan Tatars. They advocated the cultural autonomy of Muslims within the Russian empire.[5] Cultural autonomy best suited Kazan Tatars' needs because they constituted minorities within the regions where they lived[6] or scattered among the Russians and Bashkorts.[7] The second group, Regionalists, who were mainly the Muslims of Central Asia; e.g., Kazakhs and Turkistanis, opposed the unionists' proposal. They advocated territorial autonomy for certain Muslim groups of the Russian empire.

Mehmed Emin Resulzâde headed the Regionalists, whereas Ahmed Salihev led the Unionists. At the end of the debate, the congress voted for Resulzâde's

[1] Akçuraoğlu, "Rusyada Sakin Türklerin Hayat-ı Medeniye, Fikriye ve Siyasiyelerine Dair," 202.
[2] Sharaf, "Marjanîning Tärjümä-i Hâli," 138-39.
[3] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Âdâb-ï Ta'lîm*, 85.
[4] Khalfin, 4.
[5] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng*, 259.
[6] Ibid., 118-19.
[7] Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism 1917-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 77.

proposal that the most suitable administration for the Muslim groups of Russia which constitute a majority in their lands would be political autonomy based on national and territorial solidarity.

The most serious debate about women's rights took place at the First All-Russian Muslim Congress (May 1-11, 1917, Moscow), where for the first time, female representatives, two hundred out of about a thousand participants, were present and expressed their ideas.[1] Moreover, one member of the twelve-member presidium committee was a Tatar woman, Salima Yaqubova.[2]

A jadidist *mullah,* Hâdî Atlasî, strongly criticized the status of women in Muslim societies.

> Muslim women are the most oppressed women in the world... We men keep our women in a lifetime of torment by imprisoning them behind walls. Our women have no rights. They are the servants of men, working for nothing... Let us give them their rights. Formerly, all of us were slaves to the Russians. Our women were slaves to us. Now we are freed from the Russians. From now on, let us [men] free our women.[3]

Women's rights were discussed during these meetings in the context of religious concerns. A major discussion took place over women's right to vote and to be elected to official positions.[4] Many representatives, particularly the 'ulamâ', were unwilling to accept women's participation in social life. However, Bigiyef claimed that women and men are equal under the *shari'a* and put forth evidence to prove his opinion. While many representatives praised Bigiyef's idea, most of the 'ulamâ' became uncomfortable.[5] For instance, one of them, Nimat Allah Timushev, claimed that Bigiyef's evidence was insufficient and not based on solid ground, saying that men's greater rights in matters of marriage (permission to marry four wives and to repudiate them) and the insufficiency of a woman's testimony are very obvious in the Qur'an.[6] Bigiyef's speech and explanations received wide support, and its influence finally may have encouraged representatives to affirm women's right to vote and be elected as necessary and reasonable.[7]

Female delegates Fatima Qulahmedova and Raziya Sulaymanova made the case that Muslim women should have the same rights as men[8] and should, therefore, have the right to vote and be elected.[9] Another representative, Amina

[1] Ibid., 76.
[2] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng*, 8
[3] Ibid., 348.
[4] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 234.
[5] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng*, 339.
[6] Ibid., 344.
[7] Mûsa Bigiyef, *Islahat Äsaslarï*, 234.
[8] *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng*, 201
[9] Ibid., 339

Muhyiddinova, put forward a radical opinion by saying that some Qur'anic principles are outdated. For example, the Prophet Muhammad put limitations on polygamy, which, in its historical context, was an advancement. However, today, she said, polygamy is entirely invalid.[1]

Ultimately, the representatives adopted the following decisions: Women and men are equal according to the *shari'a*. Women's participation in social life is in conformity with the *sharia*. There is no rule in the *shari'a* that orders women to cover their faces in the presence of men. Women also have a right to divorce. Polygamy is an inhuman and unjust practice and should be abolished.[2] These decisions mark a major event in Islamic history. As a late scholar put it, "Russian Muslims were the first in the Muslim world to free women from the restrictions."[3]

The defeated conservative 'ulamâ' held another meeting to reverse the decisions in the First All-Russian Muslim Congress. More than two hundred representatives, consisting mainly of 'ulamâ', rejected these decisions, and expressed their dissent in the *'Ulamâ' Ittifâqï* (Kazan, 1917). They disowned the decision regarding the equality of women with men that said, "there is no rule in Islam that requires women to cover their faces (*hijâb*)." They also repeated that women have equal rights with men except in matters of testimony, inheritance, or divorce, which the *shari'a* has excluded.[4] The 'ulamâ' also overrode the decision asserting that polygamy is an inhuman and unjust practice. Instead they concluded that polygamy is legal provided that certain requirements are met.[5]

Another important decision at this First All-Russian Muslim Congress was related to the *Sobranie*. The Congress succeeded in transforming the *Sobranie*, a government agent, into an administrative body of self-rule representing Muslims. The Congress elected as the first jadidist mufti, 'Âlimjan Barudî. This event had great significance for Muslim autonomy. At the same time, the Muslim leadership changed hands from conservatives to the progressive elements.

The Tatar jadidist impact spread beyond the borders of Russia. Through their publishing activities jadidists brought a different discourse into Turkish thought. In particular, their ideas concerning Turkic unity and Islamic reform appealed to many Turkish intellectuals. At the same time, either because of the czarist government's pressure or from their own free will, some jadidists migrated to Turkey where they felt themselves both ethnically and religiously

[1] Ibid., 346.
[2] Ibid., 353-56.
[3] Pipes, 77.
[4] *'Ulama Ittifaqï Birinchi Nädväsi* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiyä T. D. Br. Karimovi, 1917), 37.
[5] Ibid.

more at ease. Particularly during the Young Turk era, these intellectuals played a significant role in Turkish life by widely publishing their ideas in Turkish media as well as taking an active part in politics. As such, Kazan Tatars Yusuf Akçuraoğlu and 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov, and the Azeris Huseyinzâde Ali (1864-1941) and Ahmed Aghayef became leading figures in the *Ittihad ve Terakki* (The Committee of Unity and Progress), the active pan-Turkist party in Turkey.

Furthermore, the jadidists' new approach to religion and ethnicity helped to dissolve old animosities and establish new connections. A closer look at the role of religion and ethnicity in Turkish-Azeri, Turkish-Tatar and Turkish-Central Asian relationships since the late nineteenth century indicates this new tendency. For example, up to the twentieth century, sectarian conflicts dominated the Turkish-Azeri relationship, emphasizing the Sunnî-Shi'î differences. However, in the early twentieth century, sectarian tension gradually seemed to lose its old importance. Instead, the emerging idea of Turkic identity drew these groups (at least their intellectuals) closer together.

It is true that Tatar reformism produced various tendencies in the long run. However, this does not mean that the religious reform movement gave birth only to children who were indifferent to religion, or, were anti-religious, as a Crimean Tatar professor claimed in 1927.[1]

While reformists were creating change, they themselves changed gradually. Professor Togan's career shows how this young jadidist grew up with the works of both religious reformers and Russian and European scholars, eventually becoming a secular nationalist. In his early youth he came under the influence of the Tatar religious reformists such as Marjanî and Bigiyef.[2] He was in close contact with Bigiyef, 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov,[3] and Ziya al-Din Kemâlî[4] as well as the works of Egyptian reformists 'Abduh and Farid Wajdî. Mûsa Bigiyef's books attracted his interest in Arab classics.[5] At this point, he appeared as a religious reformer denying attachment to a *madhhab* or a Sufi order.[6]

In addition to his reformist connections, Togan also immersed himself in the works of Russian and European intellectuals such as Ernest Renan, John William Draper, and Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) on relationship between science and religion.[7] He also drew inspiration from the works of Russian

[1] Chobanzâde, *Dinî Islahat vä Mädänî Inqïlab*, 53.
[2] Togan, *Hâtıralar*, 43-44.
[3] Ibid., 62-63.
[4] Ibid., 66.
[5] Ibid., 47.
[6] Ibid., 52.
[7] Togan, *Hâtıralar*, 29.

scholar Nikolai Mikhailovich Iadrintsev (1842-1894) regarding the reasons for decline for the non-Russian nations and their cultural potential, as well as Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) and Sergei T. Aksakov (1791-1859) who idealized Bashkort life philosophy.[1] Dmitrii Nikolaevich Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii's (1853-1920) *A History of Russian Intellectuals*[2] made a particularly deep impact on his thinking. He said, "Kulikovskii helped me to understand the difference between Western and Eastern world views."[3] He also came into contact with the ideas of Russian Orientalist scholars Joseph Gottwaldt and Christian Martin Joachim Fraehn (1782-1852).[4] Dutch Orientalist scholar Reinhart Dozy's (1821-1883) work *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (1879) led him to wonder whether Islam was the obstacle to Muslims' progress.

Under these influences, Marjanî's formulations no longer satisfied Togan: he wrote, "Although I liked Marjanî's ideas pointing out damages of theocracy, I realized that they could not apply to real life and to the present age." These mental journeys brought him first to socialism, then to secular nationalism.

In addition, Tatar reformist 'ulamâ' provided a new ideological standpoint and a legacy that has had long-lasting influence by establishing a kind of cultural bridge between ordinary people and intellectual and between the purely conservative or the purely Westernist position. Also, to a certain extent, the reformist 'ulamâ' managed to convince and convert some of the qadimist 'ulamâ'.

Before the Russian empire collapsed, the jadidists had taken big steps toward the secularization and democratization of Muslim society. Even though their effort to unite the Muslims of the Russian empire was challenged by regionalist tendencies, their reformist legacy had a lasting influence on future generations. The Soviet regime had to make great efforts to eliminate the remnants of the jadidist intelligentsia. Long after the regime erased the names of major jadidists from Tatar history, the collapse of the Soviet empire began the process of returning the principal figures such as Marjanî, Rizâ al-Din, and Bigiyef, once more to national and cultural prominence as heroes.

3. The Impact of Place and Historical Experience

Thus, the evidence has revealed that, being in a fairly unique geographic location where Islamic and Christian lands meet, and in a historic setting that displays a complicated relationship under a culturally and religiously alien power (Russia), over the last four centuries Tatars have evolved a form of

[1] Ibid., 49.
[2] D. N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, *Istoriia russkoi intelligentsii* (Moscow: V. M. Sablin', 1906-7. Reprint Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, Inc., 1963).
[3] Togan, *Hâtıralar*, 74-75.
[4] Ibid, 77.

Islamic reform movement different from the best-known nineteenth-century counterparts.

Depending on Russia's inconsistent policies alternating between religious suppression and tolerance, Tatars were integrated and alienated at different times. This enabled Tatars to gain a clear vision of how to survive under varying circumstances. The special historical circumstances under which Tatar reformism evolved have shown that Tatars had a long experience of religious suppression.

The reformers' new version of Islam reconciled opposing tendencies of the Wahhâbî type of reformism with the unorthodox Sufism of Ibn al-'Arabî as well as al-Ma'arrî, who recognized no barriers in his free thinking. In addition, the evidence indicated how the main reformist figures adapted European ways of progress into an Islamic framework.

The most important tool for realizing the reformist program turned out to be schooling. The reconciliatory attitude of the reformers regarding the traditional Muslim schools, maktabs and madrasahs, allowed for a fairly harmonious transformation toward modernity, avoiding sharp generational conflict from the polarized traditional and modern schools as happened in the case of Ottomans.

The major jadidists acted reasonably and cautiously in the realm of politics. Even the "radical" ones such as Ibrahimov and Atlasî did not propagate any kind of disobedient or violent acts against the czarist regime. Jadidist efforts in general concentrated on strengthening and unifying the Muslim community without alarming the Russian government. One important aspect of their strengthening included giving Muslim women the same rights as men so that the society would be able to exploit fully its human resources. Regarding women's equality, the jadidists succeeded in making the greatest advancement, as compared to their counterparts in the rest of the Islamic world. All in all, evidence has shown that during the period of 1904-17 jadidists used the liberties gained in the Revolutions of 1905 and February 1917 as best as they could.

The jadidists succeeded in creating a conception of complementary Islamic and Turkic identities, with varying degrees of emphasis on both of these elements. Despite the Turkic groups' awareness of their tribal and linguistic differences, they organized a unified body of political action under the umbrella of Islamic identity. Although of brief duration, this political experience demonstrated to participants the continued importance of cooperation.

Appendix 1

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THIS STUDY

'Abashî, Hasan 'Ata (b. 1863). A progressive, nationalist *mullah*, a member (*qadï*) at the *Sobranie*, and a Tatar historian, born in the village of Sulabash near Kazan. He studied in Kazan's Wäli Hazrät Madrasah for fifteen years and became an *imam*, then an *akhund*. He wrote books on pedagogy, religion, and history including *Tarikh-i Qawm-i Türkî* (The History of the Turkic Nation). Russian authorities censored one of his pamphlets, *Bäyân al-Haqq* (The Expression of the Truth) and refused permission for its publication.[1] He also wrote historical and political articles for a qadimist organ, *Ma'lûmât-ï Shar'iyä-i Oränburgiyä.*

Akçuraoğlu, Yusuf (1876-1935). A leading jadidist, political organizer, and ideologue of pan-Turkic unionism, was born in Simbirsk, the son of a wealthy industrialist. He studied in Istanbul (Law School) and in Paris (Faculté de Droit et École des Sciences Politiques). In 1906 he served as a teacher at the reformed Muhammadiya madrasah of Kazan. He also participated actively in the political activities of the Muslims of Russia and initiated the idea of establishing a political party, *Ittifâq*, uniting Muslims of Russia in order to secure greater rights for the benefit of all. He served in leadership positions in the first three Muslim Congresses, entered the First and Second Dumas, and became a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party.[2] After 1908, he emigrated to the Ottoman Empire, where he continued his cultural and political activities.

Atlasî, Hâdî, (1875-1940?). A religious reformist *mullah* with a radical leftist tendency, was the son of Miftah al-Din Mullah from Chäki village of Buva uezd, where he studied in a madrasah and in became an imam in Älmät village of Bügülmä uezd in 1902. Thereafter he went to Qarghalï, and attended the famous Teachers College there. He learned a new method of teaching and befriended the teacher of modern sciences, Fatih Kerimî. From him, Atlasî learned a great deal and developed an interest in modern sciences. He returned to his village and in his madrasah preached the need to reform the old teaching system. However, in doing so, he aroused the animosity of the older students.

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[1] *Zaman Kalindarï 1910*, 37.
[2] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 169.

Atlasî temporarily quit the post of *imam* to study Russian privately and to write *'Ilm-i Häy'ät* (Astronomy), *Tarikh-i Tabi'î* (The History of Nature), *Akhir Zaman Ishanï* (The Ishan of the Latter Days), *Mäktäb vä Mullah* (School and Student), and *Yanga Nizam vä 'Ulamâ'mïz* (New System and Our Scholars). The latter book caused his arrest and deportation to Karipost in Siberia by the czarist government. In December 1909 he was removed from the post of imam and mudarris. Then, he completely devoted himself to writing a history of the Tatars: *Sibir Tarikhi* (The History of Siberia, 1911) and *Kazan Khanlïghï* (the Kazan Khanate, 1920).[1] He participated actively at Third Congress (1906), joined to the Second Duma (1907) as deputy from the *Tangchïlar* fraction. He also took leading positions at the First and Second All-Russian Muslim Congresses (May and June 1917).

Battal-Taymas, Abdullah (Mûsa 'Abd Allah, 1882-1969). A religious reformer (later, anti-communist and Tatar nationalist), journalist, historian, political activist, and biographer of Tatar cultural and political leaders. He was born in the Yana-Altan village of Buzuluk *uezd* of Samara *gubernia*.[2] After studying in the village maktab there, and at Rasuliya Madrasah in Troitsk, he studied at al-Azhar University in Cairo for two years.[3] There, with Ismail Gaspirali he also published the jadidist journal *al-Nahda* (Renaissance).[4] After four years in Egypt (1904-1908), he returned home and contributed the major jadidist periodicals *Vaqt* and *Shûra*.[5] Between 1910 and 1913 he served a teacher in the city Troitsk, then moved to Kazan and became the editor of *Yolduz* up to 1917.[6] In 1917 Battal-Taymas was elected to the Muslim National Assembly (*Millî Shûra*).[7] In the same year, the Assembly sent him to Turkistan as a member of a commission to organize Turkistani jadidists. On his return to Kazan, he and Fuad Tuktar published a Tatar nationalist journal, *Qurultay* (The Assembly), which was closed by the new regime in 1918.[8]

Bubî, 'Abd Allah (1871-1922). A famous pedagogue and reformist theologian with a tendency of oppose the czarist regime. Born in a village in Viatka *gubernia*, he studied in the Hijaz, in Cairo, and in Beirut. After returning home, he and his brother established a reformed madrasah in their village of Izh-Bobino.[9] In 1911, Russian police charged the Bubî brothers with

[1] *Zaman Kalindarï 1913* (Kazan: n.p.), 58.
[2] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 175.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Gasprali (Gasprinski), Ismâ'il."
[5] Abdullah Battal-Taymas, "Sovyetler Diyarında Görüp Geçirdiklerim," *Tasvir* no. 1041 (23 June 1948): 1, 3.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Validov, *istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 176.
[8] Battal-Taymas, "Sovyetler Diyarında Görüp Geçirdiklerim," 3.
[9] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 180.

subversive activities against the Russian government and closed down their madrasah.[1] Their allegedly "subversive", anti-Russian and anti-governmental activities included close contact with the Ottoman pan-Turkist party (*Ittihad ve Terakki*) and propagating pan-Islamist ideas including a vision for ending the historical Sunnî-Shi'î conflict.[2]

Chobanzâde, Bekir (1893-1938). A Crimean Tatar, scholar of Oriental languages, and poet. Chobanzâde was born in the village of Argin near Kaffa, the son of a shepherd. He studied in a maktab in his village, graduated from a madrasah in Karasubazar (1909), completed Sultanî Lycée in Istanbul (1915), and studied Russian in Odessa.[3] Subsequently, he went to Europe, where he graduated from the department of Oriental languages at the University of Budapest (1918). There, he also became a first-rate member of the Hungarian Commune.[4] Upon his return, he joined the Crimean Central Executive Committee (1921)[5] and he became a professor at the University of Aq Masjid (Simferopol) in 1922, but four years later he was deported to Siberia.[6]

Fayzkhanov, Husayn. (1821-1866). One of the major reformer with secular leanings. Born in a village of Simbirsk district, he studied at the Marjanî Madrasah, and became a disciple of Marjanî. His efforts and ability attracted Marjanî's interest. Then, he became a teacher in the department of Oriental Languages of Kazan University,[7] where he made contact with famous scholar Alexandre Kazim Bek. Later he went to St. Petersburg and taught Arabic and Turkish in the department of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg University. During his stay in St. Petersburg, he provided Marjanî with information from Russian historical sources on the history of the Bulghar state and Kazan for preparation of his work *Wafayât al-Aslâf*.[8]

Gaspirali, Ismail (Gasprinskii, 1851-1914). A Crimean Tatar, major reformist ideologue, and pedagogue. On his mother's side he belonged to an aristocrat (*mirza*) family. He had a more Russian education than customary Islamic education. After initial study in a maktab, he continued his education in Aq Masjid (Simferopol) Gymnasium. There, he studied for two years, after that, he transferred to military schools in the city of Voronezh, then Moscow.[9]

[1] Ibid., 180-81.
[2] A. Arsharuni and H. Z. Gabidullin, *Ocherki Panislamizma i Pantyurkizma v Rossii*, 106-07.
[3] Seyit Ahmet Kirimca, "Symbols: The National Anthem and Patriotic Songs by Three Poets," in *Tatars of the Crimea: Their Struggle for Survival*, Edward Allworth, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988), 259-60.
[4] *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Bekir Vagap Ogly Choban-zade."
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 260.
[7] Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum Al-Nasyri," 123.
[8] Sharaf, 113-14.
[9] Cafer Seydahmet Kırımlı, 13.

Contact with the pan-Slavic and even anti-Turkish ideas in the course of this education, aroused his allegiance to pan-Turkist ideals in response. However, he never adopted an anti-Russian stance, always seeking to remain friendly with Russians and to act as a loyal subjects of the czarist empire, although some Russian nationalists never trusted his loyalty. Nevertheless, his compromising temperament enabled him to conduct his cultural activities for the benefit of his community. In 1868, he was appointed to Crimea's most famous Muslim school Zincirli Madrasah as a teacher of Russian language, but after a short time he had to quit that post, because his criticism of the current medieval type of education aroused hostility of the conservatives and even provoked death treats against him.[1] According to his own account, he learned a great deal from this conflict regarding the nature of teaching in a Muslim madrasah.[2] In 1872 he went to Paris, where he stayed for two years,[3] then to Istanbul, returning to the Crimea in 1875. Between 1878 and 1881 he served as mayor of Baghchasaray. Gaspirali's first writings appeared in the Russian newspaper *Tavrida*. There, he published his pioneering work, *Russkoe musulmanstvo*, which dealt with the political and cultural problems of the Muslims of Russia.[4] In 1883, he established his famous newspaper *Tärjüman,* which would make a profound impact on the Turkic intellectuals of Russia. He first initiated his model new method (*usûl-i jadîd*). Personal experience of the superiority of Russian schools over Muslim maktabs motivated Gaspirali to reform Muslim maktabs. Moreover, his observation of the French Ministry of Education's emphasis on elementary schools during a visit to France reinforced his motivation.[5] Gaspirali's reform efforts fanned the fanaticism of the conservative *mullah*s. In responding to the attacks of these *mullah*s, he said "nobody knows how I have suffered to convince my co-religions that I do not oppose the religion. They charge me with treachery against my nation and even my religion and accuse of an even stronger pro-Russian stance than Russian nationalists hold."[6] Gaspirali expressed sympathy for the Western thought,[7] however, in advanced age, he struggled against the excesses of Westernism which found advocates among young Tatars. He esteemed Islam for its practical value as a unifying element and a protector of cultural identity of his community.

[1] Ibid., 18.
[2] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 82.
[3] He wrote his impression about European life and ideas in his small but important pamphlet called *Avrupa Medeniyetine Bir Nazar-ı Muvâzene* (Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Ebuzziya, 1302/1886-7).
[4] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Gasprali (Gasprinski), Ismâ'il."
[5] Cafer Seydahmet Kırımlı, *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey*, 105.
[6] Ibid., 51.
[7] Thomas Kuttner, "Russian Jadidism and the Islamic World: Ismail Gasprinskii in Cairo-1908," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Sovietique* 15: 3-4 (July-December 1974), 397.

Ishaqî, Muhammad 'Ayaz (1878-1954). (Also known as Ayaz Ishaki or Gayaz Ishakov). A radical jadidist, political leader, literary critic, and writer of novels, theatrical dramas and comedies. He adopted a socialist, anti-Russian stance, and also criticized both qadimist and moderate jadidist positions. Ultimately, during the Bolshevik Revolution, he leaned toward Tatar nationalism. Ishaqî was born in the village of Yavshirmä of Chistay uezd of Kazan gubernia.[1] After studying basic Islamic education from his father, 'Ilaj al-Din Hazrat, at the age of thirteen, he attended the famous Muhammad al-Zâkir Hazrat Madrasah in Chistay. Three years later he transferred to Göl Boyu Madrasah in Kazan city,[2] where he took particular interest in modern literature and sciences. After unsuccessful attempts to satisfy his thirst by reading Ottoman books, he learned Russian at the Russian-Tatar school (*uchitilskaya shkola*), "the main breeding ground of young Tatar radicals."[3] Drawing inspiration from Russian literature there he began to write novels and comedies in Tatar. He graduated from this school (1899) and became a teacher of Russian in the famous Husayniya Madrasah. But this position did not suit him, so he moved to Kazan to participate in the liberation movement.[4] In the years of 1905 and 1906, he became one of the leaders of revolutionary *Islah* (Reform) movement, later becoming the founder of the Tatar socialist political group *Tangjïlar* as well the editor of the movement's clandestine periodicals *Hürriyät* (Liberty), and *Täraqqî* (Progress).[5] Because of his extremist political activities the police arrested him many times and ultimately exiled him to Siberia. Ishaqî participated actively in the Muslim Congresses, and in 1917 he served as president of the Executive Committee of the National Council (*Millî Shûra*).[6]

Kemâlî, Ziyâ al-Din (18??-19??). A religious reformer with an anti-Sufi tendency. He was born in Ufa to a *mullah* family. After studying in Medina and Cairo, he returned to Ufa to become a teacher, first at the 'Usmaniya, then at the 'Âliya Madrasahs (1906).[7] He wrote several books and contributed to jadidist periodicals before becoming a member of the National Assembly of 1917. He also served in Crimean Muftiat (1926), after which date he disappeared, as did many other "anti-revolutionary" intellectuals of the time.[8]

[1] *Zaman Kalindarï 1910*, 38.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 193.
[4] *Zaman Kalindarï 1910*, 38.
[5] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 193.
[6] Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union*, 200.
[7] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 195.
[8] Ibid.

Nâsirî, 'Abd al-Qayyum (1825-1902). Famous Tatar scholar, educator, writer, and a prominent Tatar reformer of non-religious wing. A Soviet historiographer has termed him "a chief representative of progressive and democratic circles."[1] His Russophilic views bear similarities to those of the Kazakh Choqan Velikhanov and the Azeri Feth Ali Akhundzade, in terms of their unconditional acceptance of Russian conception of progress. He was born in a village of Verkhnie Shirdany to the west of Kazan city, whose population comprised a mixture of Russians, Chuvashes and Mariis. His father was an unofficial *mullah*. Nâsirî first studied in his father's maktab, and later in a madrasah in Kazan but he did not go deep in theological studies.[2] Meanwhile, he learned Russian on his own and became a teacher of Tatar language in a Russian Orthodox missionary school. He later held a similar position at the Kazan Theological Seminary.[3] In the 1860s, he audited courses at Kazan University, and thus came into contact with scholars of Oriental studies.[4] With the famous Orientalist scholar Radlov's help, he became a teacher of Islamic religion at *uchitilskaya shkola*. Because of his close contact with Russians, he became a target for the qadimist *mullahs*' attacks. In addition to the qadimists, pan-Turkist jadidists such as Gaspirali attacked Nâsirî because of his regionalism (Tatarism). A French scholar has compared him with the Turkish writer Ahmed Midhat Éfendi, Nâsirî's contemporary. Like Ahmed Midhat as well as encyclopedists of the traditional European type, Nâsirî wrote prodigiously but without specializing in any particular discipline.[5] He wrote about 38 books and pamphlets in Kazan Tatar language, such subjects as geography, mathematics, history, Tatar grammar, and lexicography, as well as his famous calendar, published annually for 27 years (1871-97).[6] In his work called *Javâhir al-Hikâyat* he collected popular Tatar myths, stories, and songs. He became the chief promoter of Tatar language by using it extensively in his writings. Despite the one-sided representation of Soviet authors, he was a devout Muslim and wrote books of a religious character.[7] His relationship with Marjanî remained as hostile: Nâsirî, along with enemies of Marjanî such as Kerim and 'Allam Hazrats, criticized Marjanî, who on the other hand, called Nâsirî "ignorant".[8] Nâsirî was almost forgotten in his old age, and only

[1] *Tatarstan ASSR Tarikhi*, 237.
[2] Davletshin, *Sovetskii Tatarstan*, 42.
[3] Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum Al-Nasyri," 112-13.
[4] Ibid., 113.
[5] Ibid., 116.
[6] *Zaman Kalindarï 1909*, 34.
[7] Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Abdul Kayum Al-Nasyri," 112-13.
[8] Zeki Velidî [Togan], "Marjanî'ning Bir Äsäri Togrusïnda Qayyum Nasirî," in *Marjanî* Sâlih b. Sâbit 'Ubayd Ullin (Kazan: Ma'arif Matba'asï, 1915), 572.

reemerged as "the father of Tatar nation" after his death in 1902, during the Soviet period.

Rasulî, Shaykh Zayn Allah (Rasulev, 1835-1917), also known as "Zayn Allah Ishan of Troitsk". A Bashkort Naqshbandî (*Mujaddidî* Hâlidî branch) shaykh and close associate of jadidists. He established a madrasah (Rasuliya) which utilized the new method of teaching.[1] Zayn Allah knew Arabic and Persian and also possessed deep knowledge of Islamic subjects as well as the politics of his time. Historian Togan mentioned Shaykh Zayn Allah in his *Memoirs* with great respect, and cited Zayn Allah's exemplary personality of sincerity, honesty and virtue. Historian Togan said, "if he had not encouraged me [to studying], I might have been a [simple] *prikazchik*.[2]

Togan, Ahmed Zeki Velidî (also known as Zaki Validov, 1890-1969). A brilliant historian, political and military leader of Bashkort origin. He was born in the village of Kuzen of the southern Urals to an aristocratic and pious family. His father was a Naqshbandî and a close friend of the Shaykh Zayn Allah Rasulî. He studied at Kazan's Qasimiya Madrasah and then at the University of Kazan, where he became a professor of history (1909).[3] He took an active part in the First All-Russian Muslim Congress (May 1917), going on to head the Bashkort government which lasted for eighteen months as well as commanding the Bashkort Army. During the Civil War he sided with the Bolsheviks, but in 1920 he lost hope of any benefit from this alliance. He became a member of the Central Bashkort Council (1917), then organized a Bashkort army (Summer 1918), joined the Bolshevik party, and became the head of the *Bashrevkom*.[4] When he got an irreconciable conflict with the Russians (Summer 1920) together with his friends, he fled to Turkistan and joined the *Basmaji* movement, a popular, anti-Soviet uprising of Central Asian Muslims. Later, he emigrated to Turkey where became a professor of history at Istanbul University.

Tuktar, Fuad (18??-1938). A politician and journalist, leaning toward the leftist-nationalist wing of the jadidists. He was born in the village of Morasa, in Kazan gubernia, the son of a *mullah*. He studied in the Kazan Russian-Tatar school (*uchitilskaya shkola*), then in the Law School of Kazan University.[5] Like his close friend 'Ayaz Ishaqî, he was inspired by the Russian populism and the ideas of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries but shifted to Tatar nationalism after the Bolshevik Revolution. He participated actively in the Muslim

[1] Algar, 122.
[2] Zeki Velidi Togan, *Hâtıralar*, 10.
[3] Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union*, 211.
[4] Jan M. Meier, ed. *The Trotsky Papers 1917-1922*, vol. 2, (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 87.
[5] Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union*, 209.

Congresses, became a deputy at the Second Duma, and chairman of the Petrograd National Council (*Millî Shûra*), and the president of the Military Council (*Harbî Shûra*) in 1917.[1] After the establishment of Bolshevik regime he emigrated to Japan, then to Germany, and finally to Turkey where he spend rest of his life.[2]

[1] Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar*, 209.
[2] Ibid., 210.

Appendix 2

THE PROGRAM OF THE UNION OF THE MUSLIMS OF RUSSIA*

[This program includes 72 articles under the following subtitles: I. Political and Primary Demands (articles 1-2); II. People's Rights (3-16); III. (17-24); IV. Religious Regulations (25-27); V. Local Autonomy (28-36); VI. Justice (37-45); VII. Education (46-53); VIII. Financial Affairs (54-57); IX. Peasants' Affairs (58-62); X. Worker's Affairs (63-72). Here, this dissertation presents a selection of the articles that seem to be the most important:]

1. The main wish of the Union (*Ittifâq*): To reform political, economic and religious affairs, uniting all Muslims of Russia who share the same political ideas, in such a way that conforms with the following program and accords with the requirements of this age.

2. In order to base the regulations of political, civil life on the principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, *Ittifâq* considers that it necessary that all the peoples of Russia, and among them Muslims of Russia, should receive human rights. The principles of the Constitution should serve as the basis of Russian state administration. That is, the people should control legislation and administration of the country's affairs, and judicial systems.

3. The law grants all people, men and women, equality regardless of their religion, tribe, or nationality.

4. Class privileges, restriction or exception of certain people from the ownership of private property, political, and social rights should be abolished forever.

5. The privacy of every individual is inviolable. Within the limits of law, every individual is free. No individual should be imprisoned, put under detention, searched, accused, or punished unless there a court order mandates doing so...

18. ...Muslim deputies should serve as representatives [at the state Duma] proportionately with their populations.

Note: In order to provide for Muslim women's participation in the election, the election law should correspond to the number of Muslims.

* This program (*Rusya Musulmanlarïnïng Ittifâqïnïng Proghramï*) was prepared after the discussion in the Third Muslim Congress in August 16-20, 1906 at Nijni-Novgorod.

27. Muslims must hold the following rights:

a. Establishment of religious institutions consisting of only one person or community.

b. Election of all clergy (*rûhanîlär*) for a temporary period of time.

c. Supervision of the affairs of the clergy (*rûhanîlär*) and religious institutions.

d. Control and disposal of pious foundations (*vaqïfs*) and the properties of mosques, maktabs, madrasahs, and mausoleums (*türbäs*) should return to the Muslims.

28. Within the Russian state, small autonomies should be established through a general, equal, direct, and secret voting method, irrespective of gender, religious, and racial differences.

29. Some of these small autonomies should rise to the level of middle autonomies, depending of the size of their territory and number of their population. The members of middle autonomies should establish provincial councils with the power to make temporary or permanent agreements of alliance.

30. Local autonomies should control all the affairs of the local autonomies, including security forces. However, the exigencies of the present situation, require that these affairs remain in the control of the central power. A share of the properties presently in the control of the central government should be directed toward the benefit of the local autonomy administration.

31. The service of local officials appointed by the central government should conform to the laws of local autonomies. Courts of justice should resolve any conflicts and confusion regarding these matters.

33. The members of the provincial council retain the right to make laws regarding the local affairs.

34. According to the responsibilities and capacity of local autonomy administration, provincial councils should discuss and resolve all the affairs related to these provinces, including financial affairs. After that, the executive power of the state should carry out these decisions.

35. The language of the dominant nation (*ghâlib qawm*) should serve as the state language and as a general language throughout provincial administration. As a state language, Russian remains the language of central administration and soldiers.

36. In addition to the complete equality of the peoples of Russia in civil and political rights, the Constitution of the Russian state provides cultural (*ädäbî*)* rights to all peoples. That is, every nation possesses complete freedom regarding language use, establishment of schools and other facilities; Foundation of associations, establishment of alliances companies, and institutions for the dissemination of culture.

44. The *shari'a* courts hold authority over court affairs of Muslims; namely, the affairs of marriage contract, divorce, inheritance, and assigning of subsistence, according to the principles of the *shari'a*.

45. In every district, the language of the minor courts for petty offenses, shall correspond to language of the dominant population of that place. Therefore, the judges of lower courts must demonstrate fluency in the language of the dominant nation (*qawm*).

46. Unconditionally and without delay, in every province of the Russian country, elementary school education in the mother tongue should be compulsory and free.

47. From now on, local autonomies shall administer all affairs of primary education. In every place elementary education should provide instruction in the mother tongue and national letters.

52. The administrations of local autonomies hold absolute freedom to establish elementary and adult schools, provincial reading houses, libraries, and other institutions, including scientific institutions.

53. Muslims shall held complete freedom in the establishment of all levels of scientific, industrial, and religious schools as well as scientific institutions. Also, the same rights apply to the instruction and training in the mother tongue or oriental languages, with an invitation to individuals other than Russian subjects to take on the duties of instructing as well as those of publishing newspaper, journals, books in Arabic characters in the mother tongue or in other languages; also making trade of these items.

Source: "Rusiya Musulmanlarï Ittifâqïnïng Proghramï," in Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef, *'Umum Rusiya Musulmanlarïnïng Üchünchü Räsmî Nädväläri*, 1-18.

* Cultural (*ädäbî*) or national (*millî*) rights are those of related to the nationality and education of a nation.

Appendix 3

ALL-RUSSIAN MUSLIM CONGRESS' DECISIONS REGARDING MUSLIM WOMEN*

After the debate over women's issue, the Congress (*Qurultay*) accepted the same decisions of Muslim Women's Congress (*Müslimälär Isyäzdi*) of 24-27 April 1917 at the city of Kazan as stated in the following ten items:

I

1. Women and men are equal before the *shari'a*.

2. According to *shari'a*, women have right to participate in political and social affairs. Therefore, their participation in election is in accordance with the *shari'a*.

3. *Shari'a* does not require *hijâb* for women (*khâtunlargha hijâb shari'atda yoq*).

II

Since a nation (*millät*) providing equal rights to its women same as men would be powerful and this equality would be possible by women's participation in legislative bodies, women should be given the same political rights as men. Women have a right to be elected in the provincial council.

III

To vote and to be elected is a new innovation for women. Up to this point, our women have not learned to participate in social affairs and there is also a possibility that their husbands would prevent them from going to voting places. Therefore, in order not to silence women who comprise half of our nation, during the election for provincial council every women should be required to participate in the election, and separate voting rooms should be assigned for them.

IV

There is a common custom among the Muslims of Russia that marriage be concluded without the girl or boy's consent, and it is a fact that this causes

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* May 1-11, 1917 at Moscow.

unhappiness in family life and makes their children unfortunate. Therefore, during conclusion of the marriage contract the girl and boy should be present.

V

When there is a disagreement between wife and husband, if the wife wants a divorce, usually her husband prevents it and this situation causes suffering for her. This becomes torture for women and harmful for the upbringing of children. For this reason, this Congress took the following decision regarding women's rights and the upbringing of the upcoming generation:

There should be a written promise in marriage contact saying when there is a disagreement between wife and husband, the woman has a right to leave her husband.

VI

In Turkistan and Caucasus there is a custom of marrying 11-12 year old girls. This custom causes these women's weakness, death at an early age, and giving birth to weak children, and therefore leads to the weakness of our upcoming generation. Regarding this situation, this Congress, whether it is in the north or south of Russia, prevents the marriage of girls under 16 years of age.

VII.

Most of the time, the source of unhappiness of families comes from women or men's infection with contagious diseases. In order to struggle against these unfortunate situation and provide health and strength to the nation's children, Congress has decided to require a health certificate of both the woman and the man in the marriage contract.

VIII.

There is a habit among the men that husbands marry a second wife and leave the previous one. In order to prevent these kinds of abuses, this Congress has decided that during the marriage contract, the husband must give a written promise not to marry a second wife; if he wants to marry another woman he should first obtain a divorce from his wife and provide her subsistence.

IX.

In Kazakhstan, fathers sell their girls in exchange a *qalun malï*. Later, when the woman wants to get a divorce from her husband, she has to pay back this *qalun malï*. In fact, this *qalun malï* is a selling price, not a *mihr** Regarding this

* The part of the wife's dower paid to her by her husband on consummation of the marriage.

situation [the suffering of women because of this practice] the Congress took the following decisions:

Qalun malï should not be taken when Kazakh girls marry. Those girls whose *qalun malï* has already been paid should not be forced to marry men if they do not want to.

X.

Many Muslim women became prostitutes for a variety of reasons. Although many of these women seek a means to save themselves, because of the laws regarding prostitution they remain in unfortunate situations for their entire lives. Therefore, the present laws regarding brothels and prostitution must be abolished.

These decisions consisting of ten articles were accepted in totality. After that, two more articles which were proposed by the representative of Muslim Women's Section, Fâtima Tutash Qulahmedova, were also accepted after the minor modification in the second article. The following decision was added to the previous ten articles:

XI.

1. Muslim women should have exactly the same political and citizenship rights as men.

2. Polygamy is inhuman and unjust, therefore, it should be abolished.

Source: *Bütün Rusiyä Musulmanlarïnïng 1917 nchi yïlda Mäskävdä Bulghan 'Umumî Isyäzdining Protakollarï*, 354-57.

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

ahl-i Sunna va'l-jama'a: "true faith", Sunnî Islam.

akhlaq: ethics.

Akhund: *Akhund*s had a superior position compared to *imam*s and *khatîb*s, and a law (the second part of article 1142) gave them greater authority. When they behaved inappropriate their title "*akhund*" was removed, but they retained their position as *imam*.[1] (See *müfti*).

'âlim:(sg. of *'ulamâ'*).

'aqâid: (pl. of 'aqîdah): the precepts of faith, creed.

Ash'ariyya: famous theological school founded by Abû al-Hasan 'Ali al-Ash'arî (873/74-935), who was born in Basra. He was originally a member of Mu'tazila school but later left to the Traditionalist Sunnî group (*ahl al-hadith*) who were Hanbaliyya. Although al-Ash'arî detached himself from the Mu'tazila, he carried its method of rationalist argument to the Sunnî framework, and as a result initiated the establishment of Sunnî scholasticism (*kalâm*).[2] The Hanbalîs criticized al-Ash'arî and continued avoiding *kalâm*, therefore al-Ash'arî's doctrine was able to penetrate other schools such as Shafî'îs and Malikîs.[3] The Ash'ariyya came under pressure during the rule of Buwayhids (who favored Mu'tazila and Shî'ah) but enjoyed such great favor under the Saljûkids that they became identified with orthodoxy, until Ibn Taymiyya's Hanbalî reaction limited its influence in the early fourteenth century.[4] Ash'ariyya, however, securely established itself in Transoxianian madrasahs until the twentieth century.

'Asr-ï Sa'adät: the ideal period, the life time of the Prophet.

bay: "rich" merchants and industrialists comprised the bulk of Tatar wealthy class.

bid'ah (pl. *bida'*): heretical innovation.

damla (or dâmolla): an instructor in a madrasah.

fatwâ: legal opinion on Islamic law given by a scholar.

fiqh: Islamic religious law.

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[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Manâsïb-ï Dîniyä*, 8.
[2] *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Al-Ash'ari."
[3] *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Eş'arî."
[4] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Ash'ariyya."

fuqahâ': scholars of Islamic jurisprudence, jurist.

hadith: sayings and the deeds of the Prophet, Tradition.

Hanafiyya: the most famous Sunnî school, emerging in Iraq and Syria, and later spreading into Central Asia, the Middle Volga, Eastern Turkistan, Khurasan, Afghanistan, the Indian Subcontinent and Turkey. The founder of this school, Abû Hanifah, who was born in Kufa, was one of the greatest of Muslim theologians. He put great emphasis on using personal opinion (*ray*) in matters of Islamic jurisprudence.[1] In addition, like Mu'tazilîs, Abû Hanifah adopted rationalist method of argument in his theological studies.[2] This school enjoyed greatest favor under the Saljûkid and Ottoman rules.[3]

Hanbaliyya: the Sunnî theological school founded by Ahmad b. Hanbal (780-855), known for its hostility to the theology of *kalâm* and pantheistic and incarnationist Sufism, as well as, for insistence on following only to the Qur'an and the *sunna*.[4] Unlike Hanafiyya and Shafi'iyya which were infiltrated by Mu'tazila and Ash'ariyya, Hanbaliyya remained free from the infiltration of both *kalâm* schools and kept its "traditionalist" position up to the present time.[5] The doctrine of Hanbaliyya provided inspiration for the modern movements of the Wahhabiyya and the Salafiyya.

hâshiya (Ar: *hâshiyah*): commentary of a commentary. In Islamic teaching, there were three classes of books: 1. *Matn*, a work itself. 2. *Sharh*, a work serving as a commentary on the first. 3. *Hâshiya*, a commentary on both the preceding.

hijâb: term for the "veil" that conceals women in the presence of men. Although there is no Islamic rule that requires the veil for women, with the expansion of Islam, the custom of wearing the veil developed particularly among the women in towns (usually nomadic or peasant women did not observe this custom), and in the course of time this custom led to the seclusion of Muslim women from public life.

'ibâdât: Muslim religious duties, such as prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage.

ijtihad: the action of using independent judgment in a legal or theological question.

imam: Muslim prayer leader. *Imam*s and *khatîb*s were required to take exam to demonstrate a measure of fluency in Russian language (according to the article 1416). Article 1319 exempted Muslim 'ulamâ' from physical punishments and from the requirement of taking oaths as witness, but required

[1] *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Abû Hanifa."
[2] Ibid.
[3] Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 65.
[4] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Hanâbila."
[5] Makdisî, "Hanâbilah," in *the Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977), 180.

them to pay taxes and do military service just as other citizens.[1] Provincial administrations could remove 'ulamâ' from their posts if they disobeyed the laws, or if a governor found them guilty of political crimes.[2] If they acted against the *shari'a*, the *Sobranie* punished them.[3] The people's petition (*ittifaqnâma*) played an important role in the selection of an *imam* or *khatib*, but this petition had a lesser degree of importance in their removal: that is, a cleric could not be removed based solely on demand of the people. People had to provide the ulamâ' with living expenses.

inorodts: non-Russian member of national minority in czarist Russia.

ishan: head of a religious order, a Sufi shaykh.

islah: reform, purification, and revitalization of the Islamic belief system based on a return to the original sources of Islam, the Qur'an and Tradition of the prophet.

i'tiqâd: belief.

ittifâq: union, alliance. In this study it refers to the party of *Rusya Musulmanlarï Ittifâqï* (The Union of the Muslims of Russia).

jadîd: "new". It is used for the reformists (see *usûl-i jadîd*)

jadidji: a reformist; proponent of the new method of teaching.

kalâm (or *'ilm al-kalâm*): Muslim dogmatic theology.

käshf: revelation of mysteries of a saint.

khatîb: Muslim preacher. *Khatîb* stood above *imam* in hierarchy according to the various declarations of the *Sobranie*. Like an *imam*, a *khatîb*, if he wanted could keep official records for himself, led Friday or Festival services or gave a speech or homily. In the absence of *khatîb*, the *imam* took over.[4]

Kreshen Tatars (Russ. *kreshchennye tatary*): Christianized Tatars. Originally the Muslim or animist Tatars who converted to Christianity before 1600 were called *starokreshchenye* (the old converts), and those who converted after this date were known as *novokreshchenye* (the new converts).[5] During the Time of Troubles, conversion efforts slowed down, but Peter I reinitiated missionary activities.[6] In 1740 the government opened an office for Novokreshchenye Affairs which took repressive actions against the non-converts.[7] These repressive measures created a reaction among the natives which found

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Manâsïb-ï Dîniyä*, 14.
[2] Ibid., 16-17.
[3] Ibid., 17.
[4] Ibid., 9.
[5] Frank Mccarthy, "The Kazan Missionery Congress," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Sovietique* 3: 16 (July-September 1973): 310.
[6] Mccarthy, 311.
[7] Ibid., 312.

expression in Pughachev's rebellion.[1] Catherine II closed down the office of Novokreshchenye Affairs (1764). After the relief which Catherine II's liberal policy toward Muslims brought, in 1828, some *Kreshen* Tatars (basically the "new converts") dared to ask permission from the government to return to Islam and some were allowed to do so.[2] This trend continued throughout the nineteenth century, and in 1866, eleven thousand *Kreshen* Tatars in Kazan gubernia returned to Islam.[3] Following the Imperial edict of religious toleration in 1905, fifty thousand *Kreshen* Tatars declared themselves as Muslims.[4]

madhhab: It means "direction" or "opinion", referring to the Muslim schools of law which developed beginning in the mid-ninth century. They are identified with the names of their founding judicial scholars, namely Abû Hanifah, Mâlik b. Anas, al-Shâfi'î, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal. These schools developed from the *ahl-al hadîth* (traditionalists), representing traditionalist position as opposed to the rationalist theological movement of Mu'tazila.[5]

madrasah: a Muslim higher educational institution whose primary function is the teaching of religious subjects.

majlis: a meeting, gathering, or assembly.

maktab: Muslim elementary school under czarist rule in Russia, usually attached to a mosque. The Maktabs put emphasis on teaching the Arabic alphabet and Muslim catechism along with the reading of the Qur'an

mashrû': legal, consisted with Islamic principles or *shari'a*.

Maturidiyya: One of the two Sunnî *kalâm* schools along with Ash'ariyya, named after Abû Mansur al-Mâturîdî (d. 944). This school emerged in Transoxiana and it spread among the newly Muslim Turks of Karakhanids, and under the Seljûkids spread toward Persia, Syria, Anatolia, and Egypt.[6] Along with this development, Maturidiyya continued to spread among the Hanafîs, while Ash'ariyya doctrine gained influence among the Shafî'îs.[7] This school essentially conflicted with Mu'tazila in theological matters but used the "rationalist" argument just as the Mu'tazila did.[8]

millat: a religion or religious community; in contemporary usage, nation.

milliyat: nationality.

[1] Ibid., 312-13.
[2] Ibid., 313.
[3] Ibid., 315.
[4] J. Shelton Curtiss, *Church and State in Russia: the Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 288.
[5] George Makdisi, "Hanâbilah," 178-79.
[6] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Mâturîdiyya."
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Al-Maturid."

muazzin: Muslim caller to prayer. *Muazzin*, whose main duty was to call prayer, stood at the bottom of the hierarchy. He also kept the mosque in order, followed the *imam*'s directives,[1] and led prayer in the *imam*'s absence.

mu'allim: teacher.

mudarris: instructor in a *madrasah*.

mufti: means "legal authority", the religious head of the 'ulamâ', and of the *Sobranie*, and of the Muslim community of European Russia. The mufti was under the supervision of the Interior Ministry, with his appointment approved by the Emperor. Every three years, the mufti proposed candidates for the post of *qadi* (the other three members of the *Sobranie*) for Interior Ministry's approval.[2] The organization also had a secretary, translators, and many clerks. The *Sobranie* administrated the religious affairs of most of the Muslims of Russia and appointed the 'ulamâ' (*qadi*s, *akhund*s, *imam*s, *khatîb*s, and *muazzin*s). The Russian law (the article 1416 of the first section of the eleventh volume) issued in 1896 determined Muslim religious posts (*mansib*s) as follows: mufti, *akhund*, *imam* and *muazzin*.[3] The *imam*, *khatîb*, and *akhund* shared as their main duty was the leading of prayer and responsibility for official correspondence with the government. *Imam*s had also had the right to perform marriages and divorces (according to the article 1426 of the same law). The people of a certain residential area (*mahalla halqi*) were to nominate these religious functionaries, and the *Sobranie* gave the selected individuals an examination measuring qualification for the post. Then, if there was no political hinderance, the local administrations approved their appointments and gave them a certificate (*ukaze*) on behalf of the empire.[4]

mujaddid: "renewer," the scholar who comes once every century to restore the true religion.

Mujaddidî: a branch of Naqshbandiyya order.

mujtahid: a scholar who uses his independent judgment in a legal or theological issue.

mullah: a Muslim religious scholar or cleric (see 'Ulamâ').

munâzara: theological-judicial disputation or discussions held in madrasahs.

muqallid: "imitator", a person or scholar who follow one of the schools of law rather than independent reasoning in religious matters.

muta'akhkhirûn: the later Muslim scholars who came after the fourteenth century.

mutakallimûn: Muslim scholastic theologians.

[1] Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, *Manâsib-i Dîniyya*, 6.
[2] Ibid., 19.
[3] Ibid., 4.
[4] Ibid., 7.

mutaqaddimûn: the early Muslim scholars who came before the fourteenth century.

Mu'tazila: One of the greatest theological schools of the early Islam, created by rationalist theologians in Iraq, founded by Wâsil b. 'Ata' (d. 748). Mu'tazila enjoyed favor between the ninth and tenth centuries, but experienced persecution under the Saljûkids and came under censure for heresy. For some time afterward it persisted in Khwarezm, but it eventually disappeared with the Mongol invasion.[1] Sunnî schools, particularly Hanbaliyya, played the biggest role in discarding Mu'tazila ideas by declaring them "heretical." One of the greatest theologians of Mu'tazila is al-Zamakhsharî (d. 1144).

Naqshbandiyya: one of the major Muslim Sufi order.

qadi kälan: the chief judge, an authority responsible for investigating litigious matters of the public.

qadi: judge, a legal scholar who adjudiate disputes according to Islamic law.

qadimji: a conservative.

ribâ: usury.

salaf: (see *Salafiyya*).

Salafiyya: An Islamic reform movement which began in the late nineteenth century. *Salafî* refers to a person who wants to return to the ideal model of pure belief and practice of the early Muslims, *salaf*. Salafiyya arose in the context of an effort to rebuild Muslim self-esteem. Its proponents drew inspiration from the Islamic Golden Age, the *salaf al-salih*, and tried to recapture that period and restore Islam its old strength.

shaykh al-Islam: dignitary responsible for all matters connected with the Islamic law.

Shafi'î: one of the four principal orthodox schools of law. (See *madhhab*).

sharh: commentary. (See *hâshiya*).

Shî'ah: one of the two major sect within Islam.

Sobranie (also as *Orenburgskoe Dukhovnoe Sobranie* or *Mahkama-i Shar'iya-i Orenburgiyä*): Muslim Religious Administration. (See *müfti*).

sûfî: a Muslim mystic.

Sunna: an all-inclusive code of behavior modeled on the practice of the Prophet.

Sunnî: the main "orthodox" sect of Islam, as opposed to *Shî'ah.*

tajdid: renewal, to revive the true belief and practice of Islam on the basis of the Qur'an and Tradition of the Prophet.

[1] Josef Van Ess, "Mu'tazilah," in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 220.

tariqat (Ar: *tariqah*, pl. *turûq*): "the way" of a Sufi holy man, and therefore the mystic order or dervish brotherhood that follows this "way".

taqlîd: "imitation," following the precepts by the established Muslim schools of law (see *muqallid*).

tasavvuf: Sufism, Islamic mysticism.

uezd: a small administrative unit in czarist Russia.

ukaze: "decree." During czarist Russia, *imam*, *khatîb*, and *mudarris* needed to have an official document (*ukaze*) showing their ability to do their duty.

'ulamâ' (pl. of *'âlim*) the learned men of Islam. For the Muslims of Russia, it is a term synonymous *mullah,* denoting theologians, scholars of Islamic jurisprudence (*fuqahâ'*), teachers in religious colleges (*mudarris*es), and other religious functionaries such as *akhund*s, *imam*s, *khatib*s, and *muazzin*s.

usûl-i jadîd: Although this term was used for Gaspirali's new method of teaching the alphabet in elementary schools, it also refers to the whole system of change in education toward European lines such as having secular subjects in the curriculum rather than medieval theological subjects.

wahdat al-wujûd (in Tatar, *vahdät-i vujûd*) pantheism.

Wahhabiyya: An Islamic renewal movement founded by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb. Following the teachings of Hanbaliyya, this movement rejected any foreign influence in theology and insisted on adherence only to the Qur'an and the *sunna*. The Wahhabiyya particularly emphasized on the concept of *tawhîd* (oneness of God), rejecting all objects of worship other than Allah. Therefore, it considers seeking intercession (such as Sufi shaykhs, reverence of famous figures, the visiting tombs with an expectation of spiritual power from any being but Allah as polytheism (*shirk*).[1] It also puts emphasis on *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) in the sense of direct analysis of the Qur'an and the *sunna*, but not on *ijtihad* in consultation with the Sunnî schools.[2] Another characteristic of Wahhabiyya is its vehement opposition to Sufism.[3] In addition to these, the movement in its origin expressed anxiety toward eighteenth-century Westernizing reforms. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb saw Ottoman modernization efforts as a deviation from Islam and (in order to reverse this process) he saw his mission to lead Muslims back to true Islam.[4] Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb's doctrine found appeal in the Arabian Peninsula, north Africa, the Indian peninsula, and to a limited degree in Central Asia[5] and the

[1] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Wahhabiyya."
[2] John O. Voll, "Wahhabiyah," in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 315.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Tibi, 88.
[5] Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876), vol. 1, 156, 172, 381.

Middle Volga. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb's teachings also made a deep impact upon the Egyptian Muslim reform movement of al-Afghanî and 'Abduh.[1]

zindiq (Ar: *zindîq*): heretical in belief.

[1] Ibid.

The Intellectuals of the Tatar Reform Movement

Name	Tendency	Birth Place & Social and economic status	Education	Occupation
'Abd al-Nasr Qursavi (1771-1812)	religious reformer	village	madrasah	madrasah teacher
Ibrahim Khalfin (1878-1829)	non-religous			instructor of Tatar language at Kazan Gymnasium
Shihāb al-Din Marjanî (1818-1889)	religious reformer	village	madrasah	imam, madrasah teacher, instructor (Tatars' Teachers College), *akhund*
'Abd al-Qayyum Nasirî (1825-1902)	non-religous	village	madrasah	instructor (Kazan Theological Seminary & Tatars' Teachers College)
Husayn Fayzkhanov (1826-1866)	non-religous	village	madrasah	instructor (dept. of Oriental languages at Kazan Univ.)
Zayn Allah Rasulî (1835-1917)	pro-reformist Naqshbandî shaykh		madrasah	the founder of "Rasuliya Madrasah"
Ismail Gaspirali (1851-1914)	non-religious, moderate pan-Turkist	village (Near Yalta), Tatar nobility (*mirza*)	maktab, gymnasium, military school	madrasah teacher (Russian), mayor
Rızâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din (1855/58-1936)	religious reformer	village	madrasah	madrasah teacher, a member (*qadi*) at the *Sobranie,* editor, *mufti* (1921-36)

Name	Tendency	Birth Place & Social and economic status	Education	Occupation
'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov (1857-1944)	religious reformer	village	madrasah	a member (*qadı*) at the *Sobranie,* editor,
'Âlimjan Barudî (1857-1921)	conservative religious reformer and a Sufi shaykh	village, a merchant' s son	madrasah	founder of "Muhammadiya Madrasah," editor, *mufti* (1917-21)
Hasan 'Ata 'Abashî (1863-?)	religious reformer with nationalist tendency	village	madrasah	a member (*qadı*) at the *Sobranie*, madrasah teacher
Muhammad Zâhir Bigiyef (1870-1902)	non-religious	Rostov-on-Don	madrasah	madrasah teacher
'Abd, Allah Bubî (1871-1922)	religious reformer	village	madrasah (Hijaz, Cairo, Beirut)	founder of "Izh-Bobino Madrasah"
M. Fatih Kerimî (1871-1945)	non-religious	village	madrasah	madrasah teacher, editor
Abdullah Battal-Taymas (1882-1969)	religious reformer (later nationalist)	village	madrasah (al-Azhar University)	madrasah teacher, editor
Hâdi Atlasî (1875-1940?)	religious reformer with radical leftist tendency	village	madrasah	madrasah teacher
Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef (1875-1949)	religious reformer	Rostov-on-Don	madrasah	imam, madrasah teacher

Name	Tendency	Birth Place & Social and economic status	Education	Occupation
Fuad Tuktar (18??-1938)	leftist (later nationalist)	village	maktab, Tatars' Teachers College, Law School (Kazan Univ.)	Deputy at the Second Duma
Yusuf Akçuraoğlu (1876-1935)	liberal nationalist	Simbirs, the son of a wealthy industrialist	law school (Istanbul), École des Sciences Politiques (Paris)	madrasah teacher (history)
Muhammad 'Ayaz Ishaqi (1878-1922)	leftist (later nationalist)	village	madrasah, Tatars' Teachers College	madrasah teacher (Russian)
Ziya al-Din Kemalî (18??-19??)	religious reformer with anti-sufi tendency	Ufa	madrasah (Madina, Cairo)	madrasah teacher
Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1969)	religious reformer (later nationalist)	village, Bashkort nobility	madrasah, Kazan University	madrasah teacher, professor (history)

ABSTRACT

Reform within Islam:
The *Tajdid* and *Jadid* Movement Among the Kazan Tatars (1809-1917): Conflict or Conciliation?

Muslim societies have been experiencing agonies of transition for centuries and in order to find a certain resolution to their never-ending predicament, individual reformers have been trying to transform these societies. This dissertation examines a reform effort which appeared among the Tatars and initiated a movement to reconcile modernization with tradition. Tatar revivalism took a fairly different shape from its best-known nineteenth-century counterparts due to the special geographical and cultural boundaries within which Tatars resided. Furthermore, a relatively closer contact with Western ideas through Russian channels as well as the existence of a strong Sufi tradition in Tatarstan contributed to its distinctive quality. Therefore, this dissertation examines the historical roots of the Tatar *tajdid* and *jadid* movement while focusing on major Tatar religious reformists, such as 'Abd al-Nasr Qursavî (1771-1812), Shihâb al-Din Marjanî (1818-1889), Rizâ al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din (1855/58-1936), and Mûsa Jâr Allah Bigiyef (1875-1949). As such, this study tries to show how ideas and activities of reformers generated a major social ferment in their society. The Tatar reformists formulated an ideology which enabled them to remain orthodox Muslims while adopting Western values and ideas, a characteristic which demonstrates their conciliatory approach in religious thinking and education. At the same time, the dissertation reveals the effectiveness of their central position in changing their society. They accomplished this through peaceful political participation in creating, improving, and enhancing Tatar involvement in politics. Finally, the research discloses that Tatar reformism, more than anything else, perpetuates the *tajdid-islah* tradition of the region within Islamic history and that the reformist 'ulamâ' played a crucial role in continuing that tradition.

ÖZET

Kazan Tatarları Arasında Tecdit ve Cedit Hareketi (1809-1917)

Müslüman Toplumlar iki yüz yıldan beri bir geçiş dönemi sancısı çekmekte ve bitmek tükenmek bilmeyen problemlerine çözümler bulmaya çalışmaktadırlar. İşte bu kitap, bu reform çabalarından birini, Kazan Tatarları arasında ortaya çıkan ve gelenek ile modernizmi uzlaştırmaya çalışan bir hareketi ele almaktadır. 1800 başlarında küçük bir ulemâ grubunun dinî düşüncelerini yeniden gözden geçirmesi şeklinde başlayan Tatar uyanışı, 1870-80'lerde yoğun bir eğitim ve kültür faaliyeti şeklinde devam etmiş, 1905'ten itibaren daha da genişleyerek siyasî alana da yayılmıştır. Diğer Rusya Müslümanlarına önderlik eden Tatar reformcuları, mûtedil olarak tanımlanabilecek siyasî girişimleriyle Müslümanların Rusya siyasetine katılımlarını gerçekleştirmiş ve geliştirmişlerdir.

Herşeyden önce unutulmamalıdır ki bu hareket, İslam dünyasındaki diğer ıslah ve yenileşme çabalarının aynı olmamakla beraber bunlardan ayrı da düşünülemez. Tatarların coğrafî ve kültürel bakımlardan uçta bulunmaları -Rusya ve Rus kültürü vasıtasıyla Batı'daki fikirlere daha yakın olmaları-, Tatar tecrübesini ondokuzuncu yüzyılın diğer reform girişimlerinden farklı kılmıştır. Ayrıca Tataristan'da kuvvetli bir sufi geleneğinin var olması da Tatar reform hareketini özgün bir hâle getirmiştir.

Tatar reform hareketini iki değişik safhada ele almak daha doğrudur: tecdit ve cedit safhaları. Bu çalışma Tatar reformunun ihmal edilen bir dönemini, Tatar uyanışının daha çok başlangıç safhasını yani dinî cephesini ele almaktadır. Bundan dolayı eser Tatar tecdit ve cedit hareketinin köklerine inmekte ve Abdunnasır Kursavî (1771-1812), Şihabeddin Mercanî (1818-1889), Rızâeddin b. Fahreddin (1855/58-1936) ve Mûsa Carullah Bigiyef (1875-1949) gibi aydınların fikir ve faaliyetlerinin kendi toplumlarında nasıl bir sosyal değişmeye sebebiyet verdiğini incelemektedir. Tatar aydınları hem Müslüman kalmayı hem de Batı fikirlerini ve değerlerini benimsemeyi mümkün kılacak bir ideoloji oluşturmak çabasındaydılar. Bu çalışma onların toplumlarını değiştirmede ne dereceye kadar başarılı olduklarını incelemektedir.

İsmail Gaspıralı'nın 1884'te açtığı ilk *usûl-i cedit* mektebi ile birlikte harekette modernist eğilim daha çok kendini gösterir. Ama bu, hareketin tecdit

safhasının bu noktada bittiği veya bundan önce modernleşme çabalarının olmadığı anlamına gelmez. Dönemde ağırlığını hissettiren hâkim unsur sebebiyle böyle bir bölümlemeye gitmek zarureti ortaya çıkıyor.

Rusya'nın 1904'te Japonlara yenilmesi ve 1905 devrimiyle gelen hürriyet havası, Rusya Müslümanlarının hareketini siyasî bir sahaya taşıdı. Rus parlamentosunda büyük bir varlık gösteremeseler de, Rusya Müslümanlarının 1904-1918 yılları arasında gerçekleştirdikleri toplantılar, hareketi daha geniş bir coğrafyaya, Rusya Müslümanlarının birliğine doğru yayarak çok ileri bir safhaya vardırdı. Rus hükümetinin dikkat ve gazabını çekmeden Rusya Müslümanlarını uyandırmak, birleştirmek ve kuvvetlendirmek için uğraştılar. Ceditçiliğin en önemli mirası olarak Rusya Müslümanları tarihlerinde belki de ilk defa bir araya gelerek işbirliği yapabileceklerini, Rus denizi içinde erimemek için bir kuvvet oluşturabileceklerini gösterdiler. Tabii, kadınların özgürleşmesi, eğitimin yaygınlaşması, siyasî bilincin, kimlik bilincinin gelişmesi, demokrasi anlayışının yerleşmesi yolunda atılan önemli adımları da yabanâ atamayız. 1917 devrimi bu gelişmeyi kesintiye uğratmış olsa bile, bu birliğin tesirleri günümüze kadar gelmektedir. Bugün de Rusya Müslümanları yeniden bir dirilişi gerçekleştirirken reformcuların ve ceditçilerin mirası üzerinde yükselmenin zarûretini görüyorlar.

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